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IDLERS, LOAFERS AND LAYABOUTS: AN HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF WELFARE DISCIPLINE AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

BY

©

ALAN LAW

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1993

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled `Idlers Loafers and Layabouts: an Historical Sociological Study of Welfare Discipline and Unemployment in Australia' submitted by Alan John Law in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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August 25, 1993

Abstract

`Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts' traces disciplinary techniques enacted in Australian forms of unemployment relief from the late 19th century to 1991. Disciplinary techniques imbedded in the work testing of unemployment benefits produce and reproduce forms of social relations revolving around the commodity form. Three distinct disciplinary regimes are identified as (1) `bourgeois benevolence', (2) `industrial citizenship', and (3) `clinical citizenship'. These are chronologically ordered structures of relations of domination and resistance that have characterized Australian `welfare' delivery.

Acknowledgements

I have waited five years to write this section of the dissertation. During that time, my intellectual and personal debts have accumulated considerably. Many people in many ways have contributed to the often painful birth of this work that changed its character several times before its current form took shape. The first debt that should be acknowledged is to the million or so people currently out of work in Australia. Their stories of struggle and survival in poverty create the reason for doing a study of unemployment and discipline. The officers of commonwealth government departments are also acknowledged here. Theirs was and continues to be a struggle to understand their own roles in confusing and turbulent economic times and then act on those understandings, often under attack from many sectors of the Australian community. Similarly, politicians constantly strove to comprehend the situations they found themselves facing and were forced to do *something* that they believed was right. The position I have taken throughout the study may not be shared by many of these people. However, I would like to think that what I have written will be taken as a small part of a critical debate on how an Australian society can and should progress into the next millenium.

The study would not have been possible without the aid of librarians and key informants encountered throughout the document collection phase of the study. The Department of Social Security helped my inquiry by providing me with access to many of their public files, which at times, meant a good deal of work for several people administering that access. Librarians in Canberra were the cornerstones to the empirical work. Several of those went out of their way and sometimes worked extra hours to address my occasionally bizarre requests for obscure documents. At times when I hovered in libraries getting in people's way I was treated with a good deal of respect rather than the annoyance that I perhaps deserved. These people were often responsible for bringing to light critical documents that I would otherwise have overlooked.

The Social Policy Research Centre at New South Wales University provided a home for the 10 months of the document collection phase of the study. It's staff provided intellectual, administrative and emotional support through a hectic period. Three people in particular should be noted explicitly. Sheila Shaver agreed to sponsor my visit and provided some much needed stimulus to begin getting something down on paper. Michael Fine spoke some well placed words of wisdom when all seemed dark and impossible. George... George was willing to discuss issues that ranged from ridiculous hurdles of document collection to the grand schemes of theory construction that were beginning to take shape. We debated interpretations of Marx while looking out on the rooftop of the Australian Graduate School of Management.

Throughout the five years that it took to reach this point the four central committee members maintained their commitment to seeing a finished product. To both Harvey Krahn and Graham Lowe I owe debts that could never be repaid. Graham's continued debate with my ideas and Harvey's unceasing support of pursuing my *own* study provided a continuity of stimulation and leadership through several, often traumatic changes in foci. Derek Sayer's work featured heavily in the theoretical tradition from which the final approach to the project stemmed. Apart from his considerable intellectual contribution to the conception of the study, Derek's confidence in me that I could actually do the study was partly responsible for the energy that it took to finish. It is to my supervisor and close friend (read `a best mate' in Australian) Ray Morrow that I extend my warmest thanks. Ray prodded but never pulled, suggested but never lectured, engaged in debate but never forced authority, helped me through personal crises but never gave sermons, stroked my ego when I needed it and told me I was full

of crap when I needed that. I was, I suppose, a very `needy' student. Ray was always there when that need emerged.

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My parents and brothers live in Australia and therefore had very little direct knowledge of what I was doing. I hope they can read this work and get a glimpse of what one kind of sociology is about. In spite of their distance, support came in many ways. Financial support was there when really needed. Emotional support was only a phone call away. Perhaps the most valuable contribution was simply giving me the knowledge that they cared about me even though I *was* a real weirdo.

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Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts

Chapter 1: Introduction

Preamble

> **Insulted Australian kills 5 in shotgun Rampage**
>
> An Australian man awakened by a neighbor's insults killed five people Thursday with Shotgun blasts to the head and walked to a store to buy cigarettes and a cold drink before surrendering to police. Police said Paul Evers, 35, was awakened by a male neighbor shouting "dole bludger (unemployed idler)" outside his room in a three story apartment building. Evers got dressed, donned a ski mask and killed the neighbor, Evers's female roommate, an 80 year old man and a couple. (**The Edmonton Journal**, 31/8/1990: A6)

When an Australian is called a `dole bludger' an insult is received that comes as an intense body blow. Dole bludging not only implies voluntary poverty, but also an intentional desire to subsist from the sweat of working Australians paying taxes used to supply money for the unemployment benefit (dole) that the indolent and jobless (bludger) is living on. `Dole bludging' is a direct attack on the working class. Dole bludgers are not unemployed as they are not genuinely seeking work, that is, they are not labour force participants. It's hard to separate real workers from those pretending to be real workers in the ranks of those claiming to be unemployed. `Dole bludging' is a motivational concept and difficult to divine from the outside because it comes from within. `Dole bludging' is potentially ubiquitous. `Dole bludging' is a threat that places every unemployed individual on the witness stand, pledging allegiance to the working class ... or blowing it away with a shotgun.

Protecting society from parasites are work tests used by the Federal Departments of Social Security and Commonwealth Employment Service to distinguish labour force participants from non-labour force participants for the purpose of determining eligibility for Unemployment Benefits (UB). Work testing involves establishment that a claimant is willing, capable and available to accept paid work. Labour force participation or non-participation is **discovered** (constituted) in a claimant and appropriate penalties exacted on charlatans. Those drawing benefits **and** deemed to be unwilling, incapable or unavailable to accept paid work have been touted, particularly by (but not exclusive to) the Frazer Liberal administration of the nineteen seventies and early eighties, to have been `dole bludgers'. Recipients were menaces to the productive community as a whole. They were an illegitimate drag on the economy.

With what is known as `work testing', the state diagnoses the mind of the claimant. Gathering knowledge of legitimate workers through work testing has been a problem faced by those dispensing poverty relief in Australia since the 1890's. Then and in more contemporary times, `society' sought to preserve its basic values. Work testing was a method by which `society' could reflect itself:

> The standing difficulty of our civilization was to distinguish between the needy man who was willing to work and the vagrant who would not work under any circumstances. A plan by which the former class could be sifted from the latter and raised to better things, leaving the impostor to be dealt with by the criminal law, seemed to be the desideratum of society. (Charity Organization Society [Spence], 1892: 116)
>
> Work test provisions express values constitutive of both the Australian System of Social Security and the whole society, and in this sense they may be seen not as means to other ends but as ends in themselves. (ADOSS, [Jordan], 1981: 32)

The fact that Spence made her statement almost 90 years before Jordan made his suggests that contemporary work test practice provides a solution to a long standing social problem of idleness. However, the 90 years separating these two authors saw profound transformations in income support and the social relations surrounding them. Class relations mediated by direct face to face benevolence gave way to class relations abstracted through the state. State participation in income support for unemployment involved a change in **form** of class relations that had a profound effect on how problems of idleness were interpreted and dealt with.

Alan Jordan's `society' in 1981 was one circumscribed by established ideas of legitimate government administration of a range of targeted income support programs, and included a working class paying for those programs through federally imposed income taxation. That work test provisions were for Jordan `ends in themselves' suggests that something fundamental to that society was achieved by separating legitimate claimants from illegitimate claimants of unemployment benefit. The state must articulate work test principles, in order to pursue a structural function as executive of a community of social interests.

On the other hand, Spence's `society' was composed of `benevolenteers'[1] pursuing an agenda of instilling liberal individualist values in their clients. Those administering and paying the bill for early forms of income support, which included direct provision of food and shelter, were middle class charity providers. Spence's society found discriminating between loafers and genuine workers such an important task to be referred to as `**the** desideratum'. The depression of the 1890's was, for the first time in Australia, considered to be seriously threatening values constitutive of commodification. The term `commodification' refers to the process whereby social relationships are mediated by things and money through the wage relation and labour markets. This concept is more fully developed in chapter two. A working class was emerging that **should** hold independent submission to waged labour and autonomous operation of labour markets, sacrosanct. Ensuring that workers became and remained `responsible' and productive citizens within prevailing conditions of declining wage rates and an increasingly strong organized political and industrial left, was difficult. Those not showing a desire to follow `liberal' ideals were indeed a menace to be dealt with. The problem then, was to support those who displayed staunch commitment to prevailing requirements of labour markets and discourage and/or reform those who rejected conditions of an orderly conduct of civil life required for what Spence's `society' considered to be appropriate for the pursuit of market relations.

These different ways of ways of legitimating work testing contained some elements of similarity. The social identities of the `**unemployed**' was and remains a contested issue. Those in charge of dispensing relief formed the nature of the contest in work test practices. Rules and techniques of unemployment relief administration formed the context within which possibilities for negotiation of `unemployed' were contained. To be unemployed means and has meant to be a part of a working class, dependent on waged work for subsistence. To be a `loafer' means and has meant rejection of working class identity and the commodification that that entails. The identity of `loafer' reaches to the core of capitalism's self-understanding. Personnel, techniques and meanings of work testing have changed substantially over the last 100 years, yet the disciplinary trajectory of different strategies has remained the same. People already considering themselves `workers' have resented being subjected to a benevolent or state gaze to confirm, alter or deny their self-understanding as `worker'.

Contestation of identity has surrounded what constituted the meaning of `unemployed' and thereby `worker'. A `worker' is someone willing to comply with administrators' ideas of what types of jobs constituted reasonable work, what types of activities constituted reasonable job search efforts, what types of activities constituted reasonable barriers to labour force participation and what types of personal attributes were indicative of commitment to the identity `worker'. Contestation in the form of resistance to the meaning of `loafer' and of `unemployed' has generally been pursued over the **content** rather than the **form** of the distinction. That is, debate has generally focused on issues such as the range of work that an unemployment relief recipient can be expected to take.

For the most part, the place of the `idler' opposite that of the `worker' has not been seriously threatened. Social relations juxtaposed in unemployment relief have been circumscribed by a dynamic liberal discourse that has retained conflict over loafer/unemployed status, **within its own acceptable boundaries**. Conflict over who should be included in the numbers of the unemployed has been continually contained within discursive parameters that place genuine workers in `society' and loafers outside of it. Forms of contestation over the loafer/unemployed dichotomy have rarely questioned the dichotomy itself.

It is difficult to clearly articulate the full research question without reference to the theoretical traditions from which it derives. Relevance of issues such as `commodification', social subjectivity, power/knowledge relations and disciplinary practices, the idea of `the state' as reification, and contradictions involved in state welfare delivery are discussed fully in chapter 2. Theoretical principles addressed in chapter 2 also create methodological priorities discussed in chapter 3. However, an attempt is made here to sketch the dissertation as a whole without the benefit of a full explanation of theoretical underpinnings.

Introduction
Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts

The Research Problem

> Normalization became the principle means of discipline in democratic welfare capitalism, more appropriate to freely constituted subjects than repressive forms of coercion. In a democracy, where citizenship is extended to all classes, discipline could no longer function through repression and exclusion. **The task of discipline was to reduce the risk that democracy entailed, ensuring that citizens were good citizens.** Normalization meant categorizing different needs and partitioning different categories of individuals in a welfare state that confers right as well as duty. [emphasis added]
>
> (Hewitt, 1992: 158)

Throughout late nineteenth and twentieth century Australian history the `loafer' has been a metaphor or motif for what the worker was not. A history of this metaphor is constructed through examination of methods or strategies utilized to erect it. By doing so, it is possible to reconstruct a history of reproduction of class relations around changes in methods and techniques of administering unemployment relief.

The central question guiding the dissertation is, **how has the figure[2] of the loafer been implicated in welfare as disciplinary technique in Australia?** State provided welfare payments and services have been legitimated on the grounds that they function as an interconnected safety net for those unable to gain an acceptable living from paid work. It is important to inquire into ways in which the operation of welfare payments and services function to maintain commitment to paid work in labour markets. Disciplinary effects of work testing of unemployment benefits were selected for study due to their longevity relative to other forms of welfare. It is possible to examine ways in which capitalism is continually buttressed against erosion of the commodity form in the social organization of work by studying shifts and changes in work testing of various forms of relief given for the purpose of ameliorating the effects of joblessness.

Discourses on unemployment and the unemployed have kept paid work as a central life concern of `workers' through distinctions that are developed in work testing. It is argued that maintaining the loafer/unemployed dichotomy has been a method by which commodified social relations[3] are produced as natural, fundamental, common sensical, even desirable. The unemployed/loafer dichotomy itself is seen as a powerful discursive process maintaining veracity of waged work as a materially and culturally distributive mechanism.

Introduction

The loafer/unemployed dichotomy and disciplinary techniques erected to make the dichotomy concrete have been dynamic. Social relationships established prior to the entry of state provided unemployment benefits were enacted in ways fundamentally different to those after state participation. Disciplinary personnel changed and with them so too did meaning and effects of discipline enacted.

Constitution of the dichotomy has changed in response to threats to the dichotomy itself. During times of increased demand for unemployment relief, it was administered in such a way that production and reproduction of `worker' (commodification) was kept intact. Relief recipients as well as **potential** recipients, those who called themselves `workers', should know themselves as people with particular characteristics suitable for legitimate claim to the title of `worker'. While resistances began to spring up at various points, it is argued that these resistances were unable to effectively address the discourse of liberalism within which the disciplinary procedures were contained, because the resistances themselves (with important exceptions) were specified in terms of the same discursive structure.

Answering the initial research question involved five principle steps. The first step was to find out how `dole bludgers' were **constructed**. The terms `constructed', `constituted' and `enacted' are used frequently throughout the dissertation. These are taken to refer to processes whereby people are **actively understood** as having certain characteristics that give them a place or a subjectivity in society. To inquire into how `dole bludgers' are constructed, is to inquire into how knowledge of who and what `dole bludgers' are contributes to making certain types of social relationships possible.

The second step was to trace back in time the figure of the loafer in discourse on unemployment and find out how and when the figure of the loafer had changed to that of the `dole bludger'. By doing this, it was possible to locate divergences in social identities and social relations implied within them.

The third step was to examine `problems of idleness' that served as guiding threads to policy makers. The term `problem of idleness' refers to how joblessness was considered as a social concern. This varied substantially during the period under examination. Ways in which `problems of idleness' were framed gave rise to particularly configured social relations as well as specific methods adopted to solve those problems and give concrete expression to social relations of discipline and dependence.

The fourth step was to examine forms of resistance to work test policy. Organized forms of resistance to disciplinary techniques and the social relations implicated in them were studied. Individual forms of resistance were only referred to in passing. Although the latter were considered important, it was not possible within the limitations of the study to trace these historically. Chapter 3 covers this issue in more detail. Organized forms of resistance were more frequently documented in news articles, and archived files of relevant organizations. Thus, they were more readily accessible to historical interpretation.

The fifth step was to place all of this in a larger context of changes in the dynamics of capitalism revolving around pre- and post-state involvement in unemployment benefits. This step followed logically from identification of historical changes in the constitution of the figure of the loafer. It became clear that state participation in unemployment relief, vis a vis benefit delivery, lay at the centre of **constructing** `dole bludgers' as working class enemies. Explanation of connections between discursive constitution of work test failures and broad changes in the involvement of the state in capitalism via administration of unemployment benefits are contained within discussion of historical periods and transitions between them. Historical periodization was accomplished on the basis of distinctions between ideal typical configurations of social relations of discipline.

Relations constituted in disciplinary techniques and discourses have been divided into three distinct historical periods and referred to as `disciplinary regimes'. The disciplinary regimes identified include (1) `bourgeois benevolence'; (2) `industrial community' and; (3) `clinical citizenship'. It is argued that changes in forms of discipline and resistance represented in each regime developed from previous regimes in response to perceived motivational and legitimacy crises of capitalism and then `the state'.

Introduction

Disciplinary Regimes

This study traces changes in methods and techniques of delivering income support for joblessness in Australia to July 1st 1991. Foucault's (1988: 164) statement that social security systems `impose a particular way of life' may be taken as the leitmotif of the dissertation. The tradition of viewing income support systems as power laden has a long and diverse pedigree. Polanyi's (1945) work on transitions from Speenhamland to the 1834 revision of Englands poor laws, Fox Piven and Cloward's (1971) work on social security as social control in the USA, and E. P. Thompson's (1967) work on 18th and 19th century English poverty relief are examples that will probably be familiar to most sociologists.[4]

Mitchel Dean (1991: 6) stated emphatically that `the growth of state `interventions' since the early nineteenth century is insufficient to differentiate modes of governance'. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century discursive turn, toward utilitarian **liberalism** in England, marked a fundamental break in modes of **`governance'**, that has seen no equal since.

The disciplinary trajectory of work testing remained liberal from the 1890's to the 1990's. Categories of people constituted through disciplinary partitioning in work test practices were rooted in the commodity form. Dean's argument that the possibility of increased state activity was contained within `the classical liberal mode of government' is implicit in Habermas's model of immanent contradictions culminating in and then extending from state welfare delivery.

Giddens (1987) argued that forms of state surveillance involved in social policy administration developed during advanced capitalism, effected a more diffused discipline of deviance construction, outside of the intensified `total' institution of work houses. This argument, points to a marked divergence in disciplinary technique and effect from bourgeois methods involving attempts to accomplish a total institution within the confines of houses of industry and other nineteenth century welfare forms.

Australia never had `work houses' as such. However some early forms of benevolent administration of poverty relief exhibited similar characteristics. The change in form and effect of discipline accomplished by state administration of unemployment benefits in 1944 accords well with Habermas' (1973) and Offe's (1984) framework of demands on state organized welfare. Unemployment benefits had to simultaneously buffer the effects of unemployment (de-commodification) **and** retain attachment to the commodity form via a disciplinary strategy of deviance production. Enter the `dole bludger'.

It is argued that post-war resistances to work test practices were incapable of dissolving the unemployed/loafer dichotomy **because** they were constrained by rules of contestation that were essentially **liberal**. However, shifts and changes in work test practice over the hundred years between 1891 and 1991 manifest different disciplinary effects. The figure of the loafer **became** a `dole bludger' with state delivery of unemployment benefits. Rather than tracing any sort of transition from a liberal mode of `governance' to something else, this study examines the **resilience** of liberal `governance'.

The remarkable ability of liberal `governance' to change its forms in the face of threats produced by successive waves of economic down-turn is considered a worthy enough topic to be addressed in its own right. It is argued that three main **disciplinary regimes** have given topographical contours, as it were, to the broad map of liberal `governance'.

By **disciplinary regime**, I mean a configuration of social relations exhibiting differences across five domains:

1. characterization of the unemployed subject in discourse on problems of idleness;
2. forms of resistance to characterizations;
3. motivational crises addressed in the discourse on unemployment;
4. disciplinary techniques erected and rationalizations for them;
5. social relations established between provider and receiver of relief given for poverty caused by joblessness;

In Laclau and Moufe's (1985) terms, a disciplinary regime may be considered a discursive structure within which social relations are articulated (identities formed with respect to each other). Three disciplinary regimes are proposed and developed in chapters 4 through 9. Disciplinary regimes should be taken as ideal types. It is argued that these regimes did not stand absolutely isolated from each other. It is also argued that resistances to disciplinary practices weakened disciplinary effects. Further, it is argued that enactment of discipline and transitions between regimes have not been absolute. On the surface, regimes are presented here in a **strong** argument. That is, the empirical **reality** presented in **Idlers Loafers and Layabouts** has been gleaned from historical materials to make a case. Disciplinary regimes may seem overly totalizing throughout the theoretical and empirical discussion. Further, regimes and connections between them may seem overly `deterministic' in the sense of inevitable outcomes. An attempt has been made throughout the text to **weaken** these effects with reference to exceptions and contradictions to the main argument. It is realized that no administrator or benefit recipient is simply the bearer of social structures. Further, it is recognized that the policy making process is not as coherent as is presented here. However, it has been found necessary to argue as strongly as possible for the main thesis on the resilience of the commodity form as a guiding principle to disciplinary strategies.

Regime characterization is based on a typification of relations of dependence, described by the contents of the five constitutive domains mentioned above. Regimes may be considered as units of analysis and are characterized as: (1) bourgeois benevolence, (2) industrial community, (3) clinical citizenship.

1. `Bourgeois Benevolence'

Disciplinary practices pursued by private benevolent agencies, prior to state participation in unemployment relief, manifest personal relations between bourgeois liberalism and people expected to participate in it as workers. Chapter 4 addresses methods of work test discipline, problems of idleness and implied social relations in Australia to around 1911. `Bourgeois benevolence' was constituted in a problem of idleness centred on the theme of banishing an essential evil from an otherwise virile liberal society. The contagion of the loafer was to have been kept away from workers and to cure workers of any contagion they may have developed. Pre-state disciplinary practices enacted intensifications of civil society on the `souls' of workers.

The unemployed subject was jobless, but generally only so due to an essential reluctance to accept the primacy of the commodity form as its centrally organizing principle. This motivation crisis was addressed through establishment of `independence' as a highly held value by `workers' witnessing and participating in emergence of industrial and political wings of the organized labour movement. Forms of resistance to these characterizations included mass demonstration for `right to work', and complaint that benevolent institutions were `pauperizing'. Disciplinary techniques included wood chopping and land clearing in locations that were notionally or actually removed from civil society. Bourgeois benevolence established a face to face mock up of labour force discipline enacted on the shop floor. People were made to prove that they were at least capable of behaving like real workers.

2. `Industrial Community'

Industrial community involved drawing the jobless into a society that consisted of workers and capital mediated by the state. Chapter 5 argues that problems of idleness leading up to the establishment of unemployment benefits displaced the essential loafer from discourse on the jobless with a discouraged worker. The dignity of labour was threatened with the massive joblessness of the Great Depression. Unemployment benefits were a way to maintain the centrality of the commodity form. The `dole bludger' received latent construction through state administration of unemployment benefits. Chapter 6 argues that in the wake of full employment following the war, administrative routine centred on resolving issues surrounding support of workers on strike as well as dealing with a `residue' of loafers in the bodies of `alcoholic' war veterans. `Dole bludging' was never a prolonged or serious political issue between 1945 and 1971 because unemployment remained low. However, the `dole bludger' moved from latent to manifest form when emergent youth cultures threatened values fundamental to post-war `industrial citizenship'.

Chapter 7 argues that a perceived motivation crisis loomed in the shape of `surfies and hippies' (involving a rejection of the commodity form) in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The latent figure of the `dole bludger' was manifest in the bodies of `surfie and hippie types' and inscribed directly into UB procedure manuals. The discipline enacted was a more diffuse form of separation from `society' formed by real workers, their employers and the state. `Dole bludgers' were enemies of a working class. Discipline was enacted by the figure of `dole bludger'.

Chapters 8 and 9 respectively cover disciplinary practices and resistances to them from the mid 1970s onwards. Resistance to the figure of the `dole bludger' developed at several sites and in several forms including a ban on work test practice by state personnel. This resistance erected a `pathologically unemployed' subject to counter the `dole bludger'.

3. `Clinical Citizenship'

Chapters 8 and 9 also address formation of a new disciplinary regime emergent from conflicts experienced with `industrial citizenship' in the 1970s. With the rise of the pathological unemployed subject, came a policy response that appropriated this subject in a new array of disciplinary techniques. The problem of idleness shifted (though never completely) from a mission to locate and punish deviants, to a mission that would treat unemployment pathologies. The unemployed subject became an object of policy intervention. Unemployment benefits were revamped to achieve a closer connection to labour market programs designed to re-invigorate the commodity form as a central organizing principle in the lives of those threatened through long term unemployment. Relations established between the state and civil society were those between clinician and patient.

Offe (1984) argued that welfare states absorb crises of legitimation by drawing into itself a critical community that demands amelioration of commodification on one hand, and still having to serve the interests of capital accumulation on the other. Crises of capitalism become crises of the state. This process was clearly in operation during the 1970s. However, terms of legitimate critique of commodification and of state administered disciplinary practices were circumscribed by a `labourist' attachment to paid work. The state was able to respond to critique of the `dole bludger' by incorporating the newly established pathological unemployed as warrant for a hitherto untenable intensification of discipline in `labour market training programs'.

These three disciplinary regimes and transitions between them structure empirical discussion in body of the thesis. Chapter 2 introduces theoretical traditions and concepts utilized in formation of the research question and interpretation of empirical evidence. Chapter two begins with a discussion of the historical constitution of social subjectivities surrounding the employed/unemployed dichotomy. It is beyond the scope of this study to articulate a fully developed utopia within which a desired rational subject might emerge. The social subjects of `**homo faber**' and `**homo economicus**' are critiqued as historically contingent rather than essential subjects from which a utopia might be developed. Derek Sayer's work (1987, 1991, cf Corrigan, 1985) has been utilized to address how these social subjectivities were part of the abstraction of the state as a reified entity. This point was important to make in order to establish one of two disciplinary effects of work test practice. Michel Foucault's work was utilized to draw out concepts of how institutional practices work to make concrete knowledge/power relations within which social subjectivities are made real or `constituted'. Habermas' (1973) and Offe's (1984) work has been utilized to place microcosms of disciplinary practices within a larger framework of immanent contradictions within a capitalist economy.

Methods of addressing documents used to construct elements of regimes as separable structures are discussed in chapter 3. Logical and mechanical problems encountered during the document collection phase of the study, discussed in chapter 3, should be taken as forms of limitation. Two important limitations of the study are discussed below.

Limitations

Implicit in empirical discussion to follow are relations of gender and race that become partitioned from unemployed subjects by their absence from direct implication in problems of idleness. Ways in which gendered relations of domination have been reinforced by regulation of access to a range of welfare benefits and pensions have been central to concerns of feminist critics of welfare state structures. `Welfare provisions are `gendered' in the way they articulate income security with family structure and dependency relations.' (Shaver, 1990: 94). Walby (1983) argued that unemployment for married English women means something entirely different than unemployment for married men. Expectations that women should be responsible for housework irrespective of labour force commitment has meant that the status of `housewife' tends to become immediately available upon job loss, effectively making many women's unemployment invisible.

Introduction

Access to unemployment benefits for many women re-entering the work force following child care has been denied in Britain on the grounds of insufficient contribution to unemployment insurance, a work test is effectively built into eligibility criteria defining labour force participation as the possession of a past employment history. Even those able to take advantage of past work records may be denied benefit if their husbands are working by virtue of the `means' test, assessing levels of household income. The inclusion of means testing in benefit eligibility criteria turns the social wage into a `family wage' ignoring realities of intra household income distribution, and delegitimating women's need for financial independence (Shaver, 1988:387).

The argument that poverty has been as `feminized' (Borchest and Siim, 1987: 144) reflects a concern to uncover intersections of class and patriarchal relations of domination. Categorical systems of welfare administration serve as convenient locations to study some of these intersections. Women have been characterised as having `officially sanctioned dependency' (Bryson, 1988:136-144) achieved through establishment of pension and benefit schemes predicated on the right of women to be dependents (such schemes include Dependent Spouse Allowances and Widows Pensions). In at least this sense, work testing may serve to reify gender divisions by reinforcing the legitimacy of distinctions between male and female work patterns.

Wilson (1979), Balbo (1987), Cass (1988) and Roe (1988) argued that excessive focus on `family policy' as social policy has meant that for women in Australia, eligibility for income support for women has been generally conceived by derived and dependent status, that is by relationships with men' (Roe, 1988: 14). An adequately gendered study examining the discursive construction of the unemployed subject would seek ways in which disciplinary techniques have served to reinforce patriarchal notions of dependency and exploitation of women in the workforce and in the household.

In the context of the present study, distinctions between feminine and masculine `nature' played a substantial role in disciplinary techniques applied differently to each. For example, support of jobless women was primarily justified in the early part of the nineteenth century in terms of `virtuosity', not, as for men, in terms of fear of pauperism. As Roe (1987:404) noted, if the independent and civil gentleman was an aspiration of working class male citizenship, so was the figure of the household installed lady. Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, legitimate male unemployment was often couched in terms of female dependency. Married men were seen as less likely to be engaging in imposition as were single men. Women found their place as legitimate objects of relief chiefly as signifiers of male labour force participation well into the 1930s and, as Shaver (1987, 1990) argues, were constituted as dependents into and beyond construction of the `Welfare State' at the end of the Second World War.

The themes centred on ideas of dependence/independence distinctions are woven together as strands of the rope that ties the dissertation together. The exorcism of idlers, loafers and layabouts involved establishment of heavily masculine figures. Imagery of manhood lost with the taint of dependence stemming from income support; rugged male individualism sapped through engagement with alternative farming communities; untrammelled masculine hedonism expressed through that bastion of Australian machismo, surf board riding, ran strongly throughout various of the historical periods under review. This is not to say that males were the only ones disciplined through work testing of unemployment benefits. Karen Green was a school leaver who provided a test case for the welfare lobby group to contest Fraser's school leaver provisions in the 1970's. Women were found on communes as well as men. Women were also found to not have dressed properly for interviews, and so on. However, the key issue of independence was at stake. When seen in relation to more "feminine" income support forms such as supporting parents pension, it would be possible to make a strong case for a polarisation of welfare identities within disciplinary regimes that would probably accord well with the work cited above on the constructed masculinity of particular forms of labour force participation. A crucial component of a truly gendered study such an undertaking done in sufficient detail would involve a substantial expansion of resources and or a substantial contraction of the time period under review. A decision was taken not to pursue these issues for this piece of research but to leave them for further study.

Race relations are imbedded in pre war discussion of unemployment by silence on their constitution. The naked racism involved in conceptions of Aboriginal labour force participation was inscribed directly into early eligibility requirements for unemployment benefit. Initially Aboriginals residing on mission stations were excluded altogether from benefit eleigibility. When `anomalies' were discovered by powerful white lobby groups such as the Railways Union, unemployment benefits were extended to those working outside of the station but still residing within. This provision was tempered with the added requirement that testimony as to `good character', `standard of intelligence' and `standard of social development' should be provided with a claim form. (ADOSS, 5/22/1958).

While it is recognized that the figures of dependent women and non-person Aboriginals were implicated in figures of unemployed subjects, they receive little attention in this thesis. Discussion is almost entirely centred on changing forms and methods of knowledge about jobless white men. Such deficiency constitutes an initial limitation. However, it is argued that gendered and race constitution of problems of idleness **as stemming from** interpretation of the white male unemployed subject, bears examination in its own right. Such an examination may be a point of departure from which constitution of female and Aboriginal labour force participation may then be may be directly addressed.

End Notes

1. This term is used here as a general reference to middle class administrators of private `benevolent' institutions. Benevolenteering is an active production of behavioural attributes in poverty Relief applicants.

2. The term `figure' is used here to refer to elements of the idea of a social subject. For example, the notion of `housewife' is a figure of a social subject. The notion of `housewife' is made of ideas of appropriate female identity. A `housewife' does unpaid labour in a house. `Housewives' are constituted in patriarchal discourses that give meanings to a myriad of social relationships that enact divisions such as private and public life. Usage of the term figure will be made clearer in discussion of post-structuralist notions of subjectivity contained in chapter 2.

3. The term `commodified social relations' refers to social relations that are mediated by things and money in the labour process and through the labour market. This term is discussed in chapter 2 along with the Marxist theoretical tradition from which it derives.

4. Piven and Cloward's central concern was to demonstrate that unemployment benefits were made easier to get during economic down turn as a way of displacing criticism from the workings of capitalism. This kind of discipline was more or less benign in the sense that workers were `paid off' to remain quiescent. Polanyi's, E. P. Thompson's and Mitchel Dean's (1991) work come cut come closer to describing the types of discipline addressed in this study.

English work houses were places of enculturation. At a time when people were becoming dependent on wage labour, when a working class was being formed, work houses established a sense of industrial discipline in the lives of inmates. Work houses were a terrifying vista of things to come if waged independence was lost for those not living in them. `Paupers' were idealizations of those receiving poverty relief. Idealizations or `figures' (as a manikin is a `figure' of a real person) were constructed in discourse, or talk, surrounding the question of poverty. Knowledge of who these people were, how these figures behaved, was given substance in practices or strategies designed to relieve poverty. Those strategies or discursive practices constituting the figure of the pauper enacted a burgeoning liberalism within which discourse on poverty was contained.

People were made to do things, to act in certain ways, to appear in certain ways, to think in certain ways in return for subsistence. Relations of dependence are conceived here as power laden. Conditions placed around poverty relief enacted and continue to enact particular configurations of relations of dependence. Providers manifest their ideas of who receivers were, who they should have been and who they were not, in rules governing money, goods or services given. The act of giving constructed, and was constructed from, ideal forms of social relationships. Further, configurations of relations of unwaged dependence implied and reflected waged dependence. Legitimate recipients of relief were legitimate workers. The figure of the loafer was a mirror image of the figure of the worker.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss three theoretical perspectives underlying the research question. To recap, the research question is, `how has the figure of the loafer been implicated in welfare as a disciplinary technique in Australia?' The first task is to examine theories of social subjectivity underlying traditional approaches to labour market behaviour. It is argued that establishment of essential social subjectivity from which many Marxist and conservative critiques begin do not allow examination of discipline vis a vis construction of the `figure' of loafer. It is further argued that understanding social subjects as `de-centred' is necessary to allow for the possibility of emancipation from disciplinary discourse within which disciplinary practices are contained. Derek Sayer's work is drawn on to establish that **homo faber** and **homo economicus** were historically contingent subjectivities that arose simultaneously with the concept of unemployment. The second theoretical task is to examine ways in which discipline operates through welfare regulations. Michel Foucault's work is drawn on to outline power/knowledge relations involved in disciplinary practices that may be applied to the area of welfare regulations. The third task is to establish basic parameters which place disciplinary regimes in historical periods. Habermas' and Offe's work on crises of the welfare state is useful to accomplish this task and provide a minimal framework for discussion of transition between regimes.

The discussion to follow integrates three complex theoretical frameworks. Each has its own vocabulary that serves as a shorthand method of dealing with complex issues. Rather than provide a glossary of terms used, concepts are described in varying levels of detail as they appear. At points where technical language cannot be avoided examples and re-statements are provided for clarification.

A) Rational Choice, Labour Markets, Homo Economicus and Homo Faber

It is argued in this thesis that disciplinary techniques are based in discourses of social subjectivity that take **homo faber** and **homo economicus** as starting points. Construction of **homo faber** and homo **economicus** as essential social subjects are part of the disciplinary process under review. Marxist conceptions of **homo faber**, underlying labour market segmentation theory as well as instrumentalist and structuralist accounts of class relations, are rejected as unable to conceptualize emancipation **from homo faber**. It is necessary to make this argument because critiques of capitalism taking **homo faber** as a starting point are not capable of considering work test discipline, aimed at buttressing **homo faber**, as problematic.

Social Subjectivity in Selected Marxist and Right Wing Critiques

Marxists' **homo faber** (human kind as essentially needing and desiring produce, i.e. to work), as well as economists' social subject **homo economicus** (rationally choosing individuals), are ahistorical essentialist notions that should be side-stepped as underlying premises for critique of discipline. Power/knowledge relations are viewed here as producing **homo faber** and **homo economicus**. Possibilities as well as `traps' within which resistances are pursued must be conceived and evaluated in terms of how, to what extent and to what end **homo faber** and **homo economicus** are and can be critiqued. The idea of `rational choice' to maximize labour market chances and outcomes, said to be the basis of workers' economic lives, is a problem that needs addressing rather than being taken as an apriori assumption. The category of **un**employed implies **homo faber**. However, it is argued that **un**employed, **unemployment** as well as **homo faber** were historically contingent on the growth of labour markets.

A theory of the subject as **homo economicus** may be found deeply embedded in contemporary social policy discourse on unemployment. Rationally choosing **un**employed subjects maximize their utilities when choosing between employment and receipt of **un**employment benefit. Loafers can exist as those rationally choosing not to work when they are supported by forms of poverty relief that are seen by them as more attractive than low paid work. **Homo economicus** is an historically contingent disciplinary justification for work testing. Within this logic, people with access only to low wages have a high propensity to maximize their utilities by choosing unemployment. Marginal utility for unemployment will exceed marginal utility for paid work when costs associated with work exceed (including forgone leisure) costs (including forgone income) associated with unemployment.

The point is illustrated by the metaphor of the breadwinner for a large family receiving social assistance that exceeds the wage level to which the worker has access.

No wonder unemployment is so high ... wage levels are so low! The right wing response to this finding has generally been to reduce benefit levels or restrict eligibility criteria so that low wage levels will appear higher in comparison to unemployment benefits. The neo-classical `labourist' response is to argue that wage levels and the quality of working conditions should be lifted so that the marginal utility of waged work is substantially positive when unemployment benefits are taken into account. Both perspectives locate the structure of labour markets within unemployment debates.

Labour market discipline is a key concept from both the right and the left in discourse on unemployment. The left would raise labour market quality for workers competing in it. They would also place more workers in positions of power to demand access to jobs with higher quality rewards such as job security, pension and health schemes and pay. Rationally choosing workers will willingly take jobs if they were good jobs, without necessity for discipline. The quality of jobs would be discipline enough. The right[1] would convince workers that a natural hierarchy of employment conditions exists and those with enough human capital will tend to appear at the top of the heap. Those with minimal human capital should improve their positions from the bottom of the heap by improving the quality of what they have to offer. Those unwilling or unable to improve their positions should naturally remain where they are.

Segmentation theorists[2] present the structure of the labour market as something that must be civilized and the concept of class as an empirical hierarchy of occupational attributes. There is nothing inherently wrong with this position, except that **relational** antagonisms or oppositions tend to be obscured (Connell, 1983: 92). However, a different notion of social subjectivity and power is needed than can come from stratification concepts. Stratification frameworks can only deal with ordering (status) phenomena. This is not to deny importance to power relations established in educational institutions, employment hierarchies in complex organizations, in the layering of status among occupations, recreational pursuits, and at other sites. Rather, an attempt is made to grasp relational antagonisms and contradictions.

Commodification, Hegemony and Selected Marxist Theorists of the State

Commodification[3] is subjected to a `soft' critique in segmentation theory. If workers are going to participate in capitalism it should at least be tamed. Excess labour power (profits) should be retrieved by an organized left fighting with and for collective bargaining and by a progressive state pursuing the interests of a working class by regulating working conditions. Minimum wage legislation, worker compensation legislation, factory safety legislation are all minimalist methods, but methods nonetheless by which the state has acted to ameliorate the operation of labour markets, and thus ameliorate conditions of commodification (Castles, 1985).

Workers have been presented as up against the odds when attempting to improve their positions, particularly when the state is relied on to facilitate this. The instrumentalist Marxist version of this position, represented in Miliband (1969), presents the state as repressive of worker's interests because both administrative and political states are filled with capitalist elites protecting the class interests they represent. Fox Piven and Cloward (1971) similarly present the state as biased toward weakening the power of the working class. The state will alter its strategies when economic crises threaten legitimacy of capitalism to deliver the material goods that commodification in the form of waged labour and competitive labour markets are supposed to deliver. Extension of welfare benefits during economic crisis is a case in point. Structuralist accounts offer a slightly improved version.

In structuralist Marxist terms (Althusser (1970)), social control is achieved by the state for the purpose of reproducing structural conditions of capital accumulation, using repressive and ideological means. A `state ideological apparatus' operates by constructing subjectivities to fill social structural locations. A ruling ideology is that of the ruling class by virtue of the material interests that are supported. Hence at the bottom of it all lies a material base constituted through relations of production. Hegemony is achieved in institutional contexts by socializing people to believe that they are really agents of their own destinies and able to freely choose for themselves: `ideology functions by moulding personality: it **subjects** the amorphous libido of new-born animals to a specific social order and **qualifies** them for the differential roles they play in society' (Therborn, 1980: 172). Althusser argues that the notion of freedom is an illusion of essentialism since there is no agent, just subjugated structural location fillers, supporters or bearers of structural relations (Carnoy, 1984:90).

Working in a similar tradition, Poulantzas (1975) modified Althusser's framework by asserting that the state is not merely an agent in the achievement of a static ideological compatibility with existing material relations of production but is active in the accomplishment of changed conditions of relations of production. At its most fundamental level the role of the state is to ensure the unity or cohesion of a social formation by enabling legitimacy of class domination. The state can act in the interest of its own role, when legitimacy is threatened even if this means threats to its own illusory status in the short run. The state becomes the `condensation of a balance of [class] forces' (Carnoy, 1984:109).

In these terms, welfare institutions could be conceptualized as ideological state apparatuses employed for the normative reproduction of labour. Though ostensibly separate from relations of production occurring in civil society, the civil society/state distinction becomes blurred with the economy as determinate in the last instance (Frankel, 1982:260). Once again the state is really capital in disguise. State power may be conceived as an overt consciousness formation process whereby agents of mental production not only teach social distinctions but also provide justifications for them. Consciousness is transmitted through blackboards and pulpits.

State power stems from emergent legitimate material interests. Power is manifest not only in ensuring continuity of economic infrastructure, but also in the constitution of social subjects to serve within infrastructure. The structuralist Marxist critique of false consciousness is enhanced with a notion of ideological power located in social configurations or structures. The possibility of emancipating a subject from structure is denied, as the subject is always ideologically constituted through it.

Beneath neo-classical economics is a formally free and rational economic subject. Beneath segmentation approaches is a non-free, but rational economic subject. Beneath instrumental and structuralist Marxist accounts of commodification subjects are either coerced or brain-washed respectively, into following principles of behaviour that serve interests of capital accumulation. **Homo faber** is coerced or brain-washed into manifesting her/himself in ways that will be favourable to capitalism. Within these frameworks emancipation will come when the state is taken over by the revolutionary left. Otherwise demands on the state will always be resolved in the favour of capital.

Although valuable by pointing to potent mechanisms of social control and reproduction of capitalist relations, the approaches discussed above provide very little or no room for the possibility of resistance and transformative action **from homo faber. Homo Faber** is the social subject of liberal and of Marxist critique. It is argued below that social subjectivity, including that of **homo faber** and **homo economicus**, is historically contingent. Along with other related social categories, **homo faber** is contained within and constitutes social relations of power and domination. Disciplinary discourses and effects stem from an argument that **homo faber** and **homo economicus** are essential social subjects that must be preserved. If we can argue that these subjects are historically contingent rather than essential, it is possible to build a critique of disciplinary processes that serve to buttress these social subjectivities. Discussion of the idea of `the state' as power will also be addressed here. `The state' is part of the same circuit of power within which **homo faber** is produced and reproduced.

This section has argued that conceptions of **homo faber** as an essential social subject prevents formulation of a critique of disciplinary practices aimed at buttressing **homo faber**. The next section will elaborate on critique that may be levelled at social relations within which **homo faber** is formed.

B) Historical Abstraction of the `Individual' and the `state', Commodification and Unemployment

The position is taken that a conception of a **de-centred** subject (this term will be elaborated below) rather than an essential social subject such as **homo faber** or **homo economicus** allows for the possibility of emancipation from discourse driving disciplinary techniques. In this section it is argued that **homo faber** and **homo economicus** were historically contingent events. By examining conditions underlying this historical contingency we may see how these essentialist notions have become embedded in disciplinary practice. Derek Sayer's and others' work stemming from a cultural Marxist tradition is used to establish this point. Establishing the centrality of `the state' as part of the cultural formation process is critical for conceiving an important disciplinary method.

Commodification, the State and the Abstracted Worker

Derek Sayer (1987; 1991; cf. Corrigan, 1985), Karl Polanyi, (1945) and Mitchel Dean (1991), established **homo faber** and **homo economicus** as contingent on the historical emergence of formal social categories concomitant with the rise of capitalism. **Homo faber** can be viewed from this perspective as only one of several possible identities through which productive experience is lived. Further, as social subjects are able to engage in several identities of which **homo faber** may be merely one, resistance is given the possibility of addressing social categories establishing **homo faber**, including the loafer/unemployed dichotomy.

Homo faber is a disciplinary outcome. The possibility of resistance to the loafer/unemployed dichotomy implies a social subject that does not spring from this one essential characteristic. Work testing has been pursued to **buttress homo faber** in particular ways. The logical premise for doing so lies in production and reproduction of capitalist social relations. That is, if people's primary purpose in life is to work, then an efficient capitalist economy can facilitate this. By establishing **homo faber** as an historically contingent `event' we may distinguish the methodological approach taken here from those seeking to emancipate **homo faber** from false, as in **ideological**, conceptions of appropriate work forms. That is, liberal ideology should not be seen here as preventing homo faber from reaching full potential. Rather, the historical development of a narrowly conceived **homo faber** as an essential social subject is an event premised on the development of capitalist relations.

Representation of **homo faber** as an historical project peculiar to capitalism, rather than as an analytical starting point, has been a central focus of Sayer's work. Commenting on passages from Marx's **The Jewish Question** Sayer explained:

> In this [feudal] social context, a `political sphere', a `state' in the modern sense of the word, cannot meaningfully be separated off from `civil society'. Nor can it be construed as the realm of the `public' interest as distinct from `private life'. Feudalism recognizes no such distinctions. Politics `in the feudal sense' is rather the private affair of the ruler and his servants ... Burgerliche Gesellschaft FRACTURES THIS IDENTITY OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL, public and private in ways which profoundly alter the very meanings of the concepts of polity and society, MAKING THEIR MODERN DISTINCTION CONCEIVABLE ... In the bourgeois world, `civil society' as such is actually constituted, and becomes a possible object of theorization, for the first time, as a society of (formally) free, independent human **individuals** ... As later for Durkheim, Elias or Foucault, state formation and individualization are complementary processes, entailing one another: the abstraction of the state and the abstraction of the individual are accomplished in `one and the same act' ... In sum then, for Marx: "political emancipation is the reduction of man, on one hand, to a member of civil society, to an **egoistic, independent individual, and, on the other hand, to a citizen**, a juridical person. (Marx, 1843:168)". (Sayer, 1987:101-102; original bold, my caps)

The critical point is that the coming of modernity profoundly changed the way people (mostly men)[4] thought of each other. Modernity as an archetype, involves a form of abstracted interpersonal identity that is rooted in the commodity form. This is different from pre-modern forms because of a change in the nature of social power from personal to abstract and impersonal. Individuals no longer wielded power over each other through social identities, such as Lord and Serf, that regulated exchange of things and imbued them with meaning such as dues of fealty. Rather, individuals engaged in a production process where `things' were seen as `commodities' independent of their makers and have money value in exchange. Labour power was simultaneously stripped of meaning in personal interaction. Labour power was turned into a commodity exchanged in a way that was **abstracted** from personal meaning and power relationships through `labour markets'.

The contract was the ideal form of social interaction. People approached each other as `private' and isolated individuals. This `individualization' of social identity abstracted people from their particularly interpreted circumstances into **a general form of person** according to relations defined by contract. The idea of a `working class' then was a profoundly modern one in the sense that people were brought to share experiences that were similar and abstracted from their own, particularity by the greater abstraction of their productive lives as waged workers. Sayer, following Marx, commented: `The epitome of the `abstract individual' is the `**worker**', who is stripped of all qualities except this one' (Sayer, 1991:64).

Corrigan and Sayer (1985), Sayer (1987), Denis (1989) and Marsden (1992) built on Abrams' (1988) argument that the idea of a discrete entity called `the state' as part of an interrelated series of relationships **is** a power of domination. The idea that there can be a legitimate ruling body that is separate from civil society is not presented here as some sort of false ideology as false consciousness, but is rather a real domination in itself.

Abrams (1988) argued that the notion of a real separation between state and civil society is a reification, that they are in fact one and the same. **The notion** of `the state' as an object, a concrete social space where government takes place should be looked at as a circuit of social power. Forms of legitimacy that `states' imply promote a project of social integration supporting some interests and obscuring others.

In this conception, `the state' is not merely capitalist personnel working the levers and pulleys of a system to ensure the continuity of capital accumulation. Nor is it a benign mechanism like a car that can be driven by good and dangerous drivers alike.

Rather, ideas of what constitutes legitimate rule of governments become problematic in Abrams' formulation. Put bluntly, the **idea of the state is power**. It is:

> a bid to elicit support for or tolerance of the insupportable and intolerable by presenting them as something other than themselves, namely, legitimate, disinterested domination. (Abrams, 1988: 76)

Of those things often thought of as evidence of coercive state power such as prisons, armies, and deportation orders, Abrams continued:

> it is their association with the **idea of the state** and the invocation of that idea that silences protest, excuses force and convinces almost all of us that the fate of the victims is just and necessary. Only when that association is broken do ... hidden powers emerge. (Bold added)(Abrams, 1988: 77)

In **Violence of Abstraction** and in **Capitalism and Modernity**, Sayer (1987, 1991) expanded the idea of **`state'** as reification.[5] Of particular interest was his discussion of the construction of civil society, accomplished in `one and the same act' with reification of the state as embodiment of social consciousness (Sayer 1987: 102). Real or concrete individuality ridden with interests and desires are part of a private world that must be negotiated in civil terms if coming into contact with others in civil society. `Society' became a `state' shaped by, in Claude Denis' (1989: 48) terms, a `juridico-legal discourse.'

As the `economy' **became** an independent place where people lived their private, disconnected, isolated productive lives, the democratic `state' was also `modern' as a logically distinct realm of social action creating a social `place' where citizenship was produced independently of any other identity including worker. This `place' was a `public sphere' formally devoid of any interest but a neutral general interest. The `idea' of the state as a general and disinterested `thing' created a `juridicial' social subject - a citizen. Citizens were imbued with rights that stood as a reflection of the abstract economic individual. Sayer (1991: 75) commented: ` it is as an abstract individual, a free and equal legal person, independently of the `accidents' of `circumstances' that one is a subject of the modern state'.

To become `citizens', people were transformed from peculiar to general identity. Sayer adopted the position that it was through the abstract individual that state and civil society were conceivable as separate entities, as well as `co-joined twins' (Sayer 1991:76). Key was the apparent abstraction from an individual of relations of domination and subordination. Dissolution of those relations involved establishment of a legitimate form whereby an individuals' general characteristics as an individual constituted the basis for rule over himself. If this had been properly accomplished, an individual would have seen the state as a manifestation of everything that was shared in common with other like individuals. It is the **idea** of the state as an abstract general interest rather than what it does with its armies or class rooms, that is for Sayer a most potent mark of modernity and perhaps the most potent form of modern power:

> In the state, Marx suggests, we have a transformation of community which exactly complements - and is grounded in - the transformation of individuality discussed earlier. The state is `the ideal community' in which `the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomized'... It is the boundaries of the nation state which today define our conceptions of `a society' itself. Those things which we take to be definitive of `a society' (like shared language, culture and territory) have been made such through state formation and the representations of collectivity and subjectivity that it entails. There is scope here for a rich sociology of those ways in which signifiers of identity like language and ethnicity are mobilized in state-making and Marx himself barely scratched the surface. Marx, I think, greatly underestimated (or failed to anticipate) the specifically cultural power of the modern state which derives from the plausibility of its claim to represent essential components of individual identities, to epitomize who we are. (Sayer, 1991:82)

The **idea** of the state as an abstract and general interest locates the power of cultural formation within it. Sayer's discussion of modernity noted that Marx also anticipated Weber. Weber (1974), in his discussion of the state, pointed to abstract rationality of bureaucracies built to carry out executive tasks demanded of the state as a generalized political interest. The notion of rational state bureaucracy also stemmed from conception of a disinterested popularly diffused notion of power involved in the abstract citizen. Bureaucracy was ideally disinterested and acted in perfect accord with political (general) will. People who did the tasks of bureaucratic work were hyper-individuals who affected a parallelling of `civil reality' with `official reality'. Transactions between real people with the abstract state were constructed in terms defined by the structure of files, which in turn mirrored a notion of abstracted and objective reality.

The State and Cultural Formation

Weber, as well as Marx and Foucault, were concerned to point out a transformation of personal reality into a knowledge that had organizational reality. Weber's concern to point at rationality as a hallmark of modernity can be found in his discussions of the growth of bureaucracy as a hierarchical and mechanistic reflection of rational life in general. Those who become objects of administration were disconnected from any semblance of real concrete circumstance and transformed into categories of governance. Subjectivity literally became the domain of state decree:

> For those (and they have been the majority) whose place in this `society' is to be administered and policed as objects, subjectivity is more problematic even than Marx allows, and the gulf between concrete circumstance and its abstract representation still greater. (Sayer 1991:86)

Two forms of power stem from the same notion of the abstract individual and both are implied in the latter quote. The first is that the **idea** of the state as a general interest gives it the potency of legitimate statement of inclusion of what is and what is not inside of society, or constitutive of citizenship. That is, something done by the state is something done by the general interests represented by it. When the state gives money to people said to be deserving of it, **because** their needs represent those of a **general** need, then those needs simultaneously attach not only to those receiving it but also to others looking upon the state as representing them. States' citizens have `potential' needs. By defining the terms of those needs, the state is capable of drawing into `society' those whom specifically articulated needs construct. For example, single supporting parents explicitly **become** generalisable as citizens because their needs that define them as `single supporting parents' are considered to be the general needs of a social body bounded by citizenship. Others can look upon these people as similar enough to warrant encompassing in the term `society'. This is a power relation. Those excluded by virtue of having characteristics that are demonstrably in opposition to the intent of the so constructed civil identity, can be seen by **all** to be not of `society' but **outside** of it, to be against the general interest, to be made alien.

The second form of power mentioned in Sayer's latter remark is that of administered subjects. Those who approach an organization become constituted through and by its administrative purpose. Real people are turned into those with this or that characteristic made in accordance with what the organization does. There is a rich and comprehensive sociology surrounding the administrative constitution of institutional life, stemming from sources such as Goffman, Weber and more recently Foucault. In terms of the present project, the two forms of power co-exist and support each other. Processes of 'juridico-legal' individuation (the making of formally free social individuals) and institutional construction (giving those individuals specific characteristics) are processes of cultural production and reproduction.

Society becomes a state and a state becomes a society with real concrete people becoming abstracted individual/citizens constituted in a `juridico-legal' discourse. We are given a way to critically approach Alan Jordan's statement, presented in chapter one, that the principles of work testing are constitutive of the whole of Australian society. This statement did not propose that work testing drove all social relationships. Rather, that power relations established in work test regulations reflect and reproduce an interconnected series of fundamental cultural identities. Sayer's work here was important to explain that cultural identities such as `dole bludger' take their potency through historically specific configurations of power laden social relationships.

`Dole Bludgers' don't just exist `out there'. That is, there are no ahistorical `dole bludgers' that are simply waiting for an institution to discover them. Rather their definitions and meanings are historical events that came about in particular ways that had something to do with a conception of `the state' as an abstract and abstracting thing. Ideas of appropriate forms of labour force participation expressed through work test methods did not emerge from thin air. Further, these ideas did not creep into the heads of an `Australian society' by virtue of religious revelation. Rather, it is proposed that a somewhat circular, rather tangled and definitely uneven process of society making was involved in the constitution of work testing as a legitimate enterprise to be undertaken by a government in the course of administering unemployment relief schemes beginning as early as 1892. [6]

Sayer argued that a system of cultural relations was a type of power. In modernity, the abstracted individual emerged with civil society and the state as concrete social spaces. This event was a productive power in that it brought into being specific ways or strategies of legitimate social conduct. Class relations were extant in the very categories of relationships. Power is not wielded by particular people who have intentions to do this or that with power of armies. Rather, power exists as circuits of association. Power is a strategy, a way of doing things, a method of social action that includes some actions and meanings as legitimate and excludes others.[7]

The Historical Contingency of the Identities of the `Unemployed'

The social identity of the `**un**employed' **has a history**. The term `**un**employed' refers to joblessness as well as a desire to have a job. On the surface, this would seem to be a relatively non-problematic way of referring to someone filling these criteria. However, the meaning of the term, both to those taking it as referring to their own condition, and to those reflecting on them, is embedded in historical conditions surrounding its usage. In other words, `**un**employed' and `**un**employ**ment**' are new social categories. They are synonymous with the rise of capitalism and central to the capitalist system's self-understanding. Piore (1987: 1834) argued that `Unemployment':

> is an artifact of the language that uses a term which in everyday parlance means **forced** idleness for activities that have important productive functions akin to the functions of inventories, information processing and investment associated with the utilization of capital goods. [emphasis added]

There are two key issues here. The first is that idleness is forced. People who are **un**employed have no choice in being without paid work as they need paid work in order to survive. The second element is that work must be engaged within a labour market. To be `**un**employed' within a context of `**un**employ**ment**' means that there is no choice but to work for wages. The term **un**employ**ment** cannot be thought of in ahistorical terms, much the same way as `work' cannot. **U**nemployment is a novel description of historically situated social relationships.

According to Keysarr (1986), the term `**un**employed', to designate out of work and seeking it, had been used rarely before 1850. Prior to that, from as early as the seventeenth century, **un**employment and **un**employed were used sporadically and in various ways to describe situations of having nothing, considered by commentators, productive to do (Williams, 1976: 274). Reference to **un**employment and **un**employed in terms of joblessness came much later, around the 1880's. At that point, urbanization and industrialization had developed to the extent that waged labour was **the** primary source of subsistence for most people.

Keysarr, along with Kumar (1979), Malcolmson (1981, 1988) Pahl (1984), Polanyi (1945) and E. P. Thompson (1967), argued that `**un**employment' as a thing, as an ontologically coherent event, was non-existent in times when employment was not a normal method of gaining subsistence. During most of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century, those living in rural England gained subsistence through a variety of strategies that included work for wages as minor part. Viable and often preferred alternatives included self-provisioning using either personal, familial or common land (Malcolmson, 1988). Development of the possibility for an identity such as `**un**employed' was contingent on the rise of dependence on wage labour. Others, including those mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, have sufficiently mapped the processes of urbanization and proletarianization involved with enclosure to obviate detailed discussion here. However, the important point is that someone could not be `**un**employed' because they could gain a living in other subsistence pursuits.

Malcolmson (1981) characterized the landscape of late seventeenth and eighteenth century work as an uneven tapestry of varied experience, articulated by the common thread of uncertainty. Along with Neale (1985), Malcolmson argued that social `class' could hardly be divided between those who had to work for wages and those who were **un**employed. As England's domestic economy was still primarily agriculturally based, access to locations in social strata, splintered along several lines according to customary or formal laws of land tenure, was to a great extent determinate of an individual's and household's prospects for survival. Waged work was a widespread phenomenon for the married and unmarried propertyless. However, at least in rural areas, waged work was highly integrated with subsistence gained from access to common land. The general point is taken that:

> city dwellers normally had fewer resources to fall back on, for by-employments [(alternatives to waged labour)] were less readily practiced. Almost everything had to be purchased in the market place, in contrast to country districts where cottages could often supplement earnings from wages by utilizing their rights of direct access to land. (Malcolmson, 1981: 78)

To be jobless from the 16th to the early 19th century was not evidence of legitimate **un**employment. Conditions for the possibility of the idea of `**un**employment', and assignment of the identity of `**un**employed', as we understand it today, were the construction of labour markets upon which the bulk of the population depended **absolutely**. Observers of the world wide recession of the 1880's could well speak of unemployment as this condition had been, by then, met. The social identity of unemployed was integral to the development of the identity of `worker'.

Marx's `**homo faber**' was constituted in an historical materialism[8] that charted, as its last empirical moment, the making of the English working class. Classical Marxism's **homo faber** has been said to be the essential subject that lay beneath Marx's entire theoretical edifice. Man's (Marx did write about men as constituting the species general) essential nature was located in his first and foremost act ... to produce and reproduce material conditions of existence, from which social life stemmed. With the rise of capitalism, commodification of production in waged labour produced a commodification of **homo faber** in social relations of production. Homo faber was still present, but in a distorted form to be expressed in the epitaph of `worker'. In this context, demands for a `right to work' that emerged with unemployment in the late nineteenth century were expressions of **homo faber** within the bounds of the logic within which production was then located. A right to work was a right to waged work.

An alternative approach to interpretation of Marx's discourse on **homo faber** may be found in Polanyi's (1945) economic anthropological comparisons of market and pre-market societies. In the **Great Transformation** and in several smaller essays[9] Polanyi argued that, prior to working class formation, production was not accomplished for its own sake, but rather as an expression of social identity. The coming of the modern notion of `economy' as a distinct realm within which production took place, **produced homo faber**. Work houses, particularly those of the post-1834 era, were a significant part of strategies to produce and reproduce **homo faber** necessary for the constitution of a working class.

Following Polanyi, Dean (1991) argued that demolition of England's Speenhamland system of outdoor poor relief (1795-1834) and simultaneous stimulation of the work house system in the Poor Law Reform Act of 1834 marked a fundamental break towards a mode of `liberal governance'. Pseudo-feudal paternalism inherent in Speenhamland was swept aside in the wake of a liberalism that would transform rather than merely punish paupers as well as the working poor. A working class would be disciplined into affective dependence on labour markets. Techniques of poverty relief represented strategies of governance that articulated a rising utilitarian liberalism struggling and pushing for disconnection of economic from other forms of social relationships.

The social subject of the old or **ancien regime** (closer to Huizinga's (1955) **homo ludens** (primary drive is for play) than to Classical Marxism's **homo faber)** was quashed in a normative liberal discourse which erected `**homo economicus' as a** natural condition to which workers must and should return if they were to contribute to the wealth of the nation. **Homo economicus** was liberalisms' version of **homo faber** which found a far more rational home in capitalism than in earlier forms of society.

For Polanyi as for Sayer, `the market' was a metaphor containing the whole of an emergent society based upon it. Relations of production were atomized, commodified, rationalized. Relations of exchange embodied in the market form contained liberalism's primeval individual: **homo economicus**. The metaphor of the Pauper was equally important as a concrete definition of what must be eradicated and held as inherently virulent to the advance of liberal political economics. Polanyi (1945: 88-89) commented with characteristic flair:

> The figure of the Pauper, almost forgotten since, dominated a discussion the imprint of which was as powerful as the most spectacular events in history. If the French Revolution was indebted to the thought of Voltaire and Diderot, Quesnay and Rouseau, the Poor Law discussion formed the minds of Bentham and Burke, Godwin and Malthus, Ricardo and Marx, Robert Owen and Jchn Stuart Mill, Darwin and Spencer, who shared with the French Revolution the spiritual parentage of nineteenth-century civilization. A world was uncovered the very existence of which had not been suspected, that of the laws governing a new complex society. Although the emergence of society in this new and distinctive sense happened in the economic field, its reference was universal. It was in the decades following Speenhamland and the poor law reform that the mind of man turned toward his own society with a new anguish of concern.

The rationally chosing `man', pursuing private interests to satisfaction, was **rediscovered** in the market metaphor but impediments stood in the way of full realization of rational activity. Speenhamland represented an anachronistic struggle of the old world to hang on to ideas of fealty, of local communal identity. However, Speenhamland got in the way of a rationally operating market for labour, without which there could hardly be a rationally operating market for goods produced.

Work houses were specifically designed to be abhorred places of last resort. Work houses were disciplinary for those outside of them as well as for those inside. **Homo economicus** was, at least in those early years in Britain, to have the vestiges of obsolete social relations of dependence removed, literally scraped off with work house discipline. The state was to play a minimal role in laissez-faire political economy. A natural as possible playing field should be left upon which market, as social relations, would be pursued. However, the state **would** perform a disciplinary function. The warrant for discipline arose less from continued vestiges of paternal duty than from its more logical role as guarantor of returning society to its **natural** condition.

Mitchel Dean (1991: 6) has argued that this discursive construction accomplished by liberalism, and pursued through the growth of state `welfare' strategies, marked the beginning of a **mode of governance** fully capable of expanding itself to withstand critique of state action:

> the classical liberal mode of governance always contained the active possibility of the expansion and centralization of state activity within its form of economy in a way that traverses empty oppositions between individualism and collectivism, Laissez-faire and interventionism.

So long as capitalism could retain its liberal **homo economicus**, it could withstand lesser forms of system change. As **homo economicus** is found beneath liberal discourse, **homo faber** may be seen beneath some Marxist discourse.

This section has argued that **homo faber** is an historically contingent event that has been implicated in the formation of social relationships surrounding the commodity form. The idea of `the state' as a representation of the interests of both capital and workers brought to bear a method of cultural formation that contains distinctive types of disciplinary effects. Disciplinary effects are elaborated and discussed in the next section.

C) Subjectivity, Resistance and Power: `De-Totalizing' Hegemony

In this section, Michel Foucault's work on power/knowledge relationships in addition to Sayer's and other's work on the state, is used to establish two central disciplinary effects. The first involves the discipline of people claiming to be unemployed and applying for benefits. The second is a process of discipline affecting those employed and not receiving or applying for benefits. While not contained within welfare institutions, the employed working class is disciplined to establish basic boundaries around itself. The idea that there **are** loafers having particular characteristics given by regulations surrounding receipt of unemployment benefits, establishes who real workers are not. It is necessary to discuss these issues in order to explain how the figure of the idler has operated as a disciplinary effect.

Hegemony and the De-Centred Social Subject

Critics of structural Marxist interpretations argue that there is little room for resistance when identity is **totalized** (bound in its entirety) in an hegemonic bloc (or discursive structure in Foucault's terminology). In other words, how does one know what to resist when all seems natural and not warranting resistance? R. W. Connell (1983) argued that Gramsci's notion of hegemony does not necessarily presuppose a totalization. Giddens' (1984) idea of **structuration** also attempts to retain the useful notion of hegemonic power relations and at the same time allow for the possibility for resistance. Hegemony is conceived as a fragmented process of social relations in formation, subject to interruption, breakdown and `mutation':

> The real world of class relations is a world where some kinds of possibilities are constantly being opened up, others closed down; where some kinds of practice lead into unexpected traps, and others to unexpected transformation; in sum, where structural mutation is the rule rather the exception. (Connell, 1983: 157)

In a world of class relations such as this, a totalizing hegemony would never have time to consolidate because it is constantly being contested in the process of relations established within it. Hegemony may in some situations be self-defeating. Dynamics of interaction may be brought into play that lead to a transformation of relations constituting hegemonic relations in the first place. Connell (1983: 56) argued that a totalizing hegemony would be akin to Parsonian pattern maintenance and system integration. However the world and the people composing it are never so neat. People act and react with their whole lived experience at their backs. People **are** capable of reflection on particular subject positions they occupy. Subject positions formed in spheres of socialization that were disconnected to those hegemonically constituted may form a basis for resistance. Morrow (1987: 19) commented:

> `Post-Structuralist' positions, inspired by the works of Foucault and others, have tended to stress the radically de-centred character of society. The most concrete expressions of this type of analysis is a conception of the diffuse

> character of power and a calling into question of the privileged status of working class.

`Post-structuralist' interpretations of Gramsci's hegemony reject **homo faber** as **the** exclusive basis of subjectivity and allow other spheres of identity such as race, gender, sexual orientation and natural environment (environmentalism) to act as referents from which hegemonic projects may seem absurd, be questioned, be resisted. In its hegemonic sense, power can be conceived as a knowledge of the way things are. That is, power is the constitution of categories through which reality is interpreted. Power is revealed and manifest through practices that deliberately assert the validity of what is to count as truth. For example, the disciplinary strategies constructing `dole bludgers' do not form Althusserian `interpellated' subjects. People are more than the bearers of structures. People who are labeled dole bludgers remain knowledgeable about their plight when jobless, but cannot escape the delimna of having to articulate their needs within a disourse that distorts but does not fully define their conscious experience. People know they are not dole bludgers but cannot argue for this in a way that will overcome the categories through which they are understood. The power at play here forms the terms of debate whithin which social identies are contested. The **idea of the state** as a state in a particular form, with particular duties and functions, was such a power. The state brought into being particular forms of structured social relations of domination and subordination that made the idea of `dole bludging' difficult to transcend.

Following Foucault, any one person **may** occupy a number of subject positions in a complex society. This social subject is `de-centred' in that no one particular subject location forms the totality of a person's experience. It follows that no one particular discursive formation can comprise the totality of social experience. There will always be parts of a person's experience that are not contained within any particular configuration of relationships. Laclau and Moufe (1985:105) develop a terminology to interpret these ideas and set them in clear juxtaposition:

> We will call **articulation** any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call **discourse**. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call **moments**. By contrast, we will call **element** any difference that is not discursively articulated. [emphasis added]

A key part of Laclau and Moufe's interpretation of the subject and the nature of discursive power lies in identification of `**element**', or non-articulated differences between subject positions. Laclau and Moufe argue that these floating differences are what prevent any particular discourse from becoming a totalized hegemonic bloc. That is, a particular discursive formation may shift and change as its constituent moments become elements and vice versa. Further, we are provided with room for the possibility of resistance to any particular discursive structure to develop in contestation over elements as well as moments (such as the loafer\unemployed dichotomy). It is not intended here to take on the entirety of Laclau and Moufe's interpretation of Foucault. However, they usefully pointed out that a hegemonic `bloc', or discursive structure, cannot exist without such resistance, because resistance forms the borders that give a discursive structure definition.

Within this framework, the possibility of resistance to discursive structures is conceivable **because** the social subject only partially occupies a position within any one particular discursive structure. A subject's knowledge of social relations is only partly contained within any one particular dispersion of social relations articulated within a discursive structure. A subject has agency to the extent to which multiple dispersions forming a social terrain are overlaid on each other differently for each individual. This conception of a `**de-centred**' social subject represents a break from structuralist ideas of subjectivity represented in the works of Althusser and Poulantzas. There the social subject is the `bearer of structures'. The social subject is constituted within a totalizing system of relationships from which there is no escape. The `de-centred' subject is represented as an actively reflecting one that is capable of bringing a multiplicity of internally relevant discursive structures to bear on interpretation of an experience in a particular dispersion of social actors. **Homo faber** is **capable** of understanding `himself' as more than **homo faber**.

Habermas (1971) drew a distinction between various `interests' or `rationalities' that compose bases for human action. Social subjects are de-centred because they have more than one `interest' or rationality. `Instrumental' or `purposive-rational' interests are pursued in material production. Communicative interests are pursued in language and involve an inexorable quest for meaning. Emancipatory interests are concerned with power relations and are expressed as self assertion. Habermas argued that **homo faber** came into being with a capitalism that placed `instrumental' or `purposive-rational' interests above others.

The *Un*employed Social Subject

Transformations in the discursive functions of loafer\unemployed discourse as well as ambivalence and ineffective responses of the working class voices represented in the organized left, have seemed to provide support for a pessimistic view of emancipatory potential. However, the **possibility** of effective resistance to commodification implied in **homo economicus** and **homo faber** is rescued with a de-centred subject.

Disciplinary Practice

Foucault's ideas of power/knowledge relations as disciplinary practices are addressed as providing a way of conceiving work test practice as a method of forming structures of social relations surrounding the commodity form. **Relations of discipline within work organizations studied by authors such as Braverman (1974), Burawoy (1988) or Thompson (1989) need to be clearly distinguished from disciplinary relations of non-work or *un*employment.** Foucault's concepts provide a method of thinking about how social practices outside of the work place operate to constitute social relations of wage dependence as legitimate.

Dandeker (1990: 23) remarks of Foucault's conception of power, that `power is not a thing possessed by an individual or group but a **strategy**, the effects of which are realized through a network of relations and tactics. It is the structuring of relationships as legitimate that **is** power:

> `power **is** `always already there', that one is never `outside' it, that there are no `margins' for those who break with the system to gambol on' (Foucault, 1980: 141 [Foucault's emphasis])

Foucault's social subject is quite radically de-centred. Subjects have a `will to knowledge', which is their only essential feature. When people interact, all with a will to knowledge, to form ideas in a comprehensible and desirable form, we find that `power is co-extensive with the social body; there are no primal spaces of primal liberty between the meshes of its network'.[10]

It should be emphasized that Foucault's knowledge/power relationship has simultaneously positive and negative facets. The negative facet is the power that says `no you cannot do this', it is oppressive, opposing forms and contents of knowledge are denied and rejected as non-legitimate. The **positive** facet of power constructs or gives rise to particular social subjects. Positive power makes what is right and legitimate. Relations of domination and subordination occur, when one knowledge encompasses another, producing a particular reality. Foucault's approach to power discussed here, may be thought of as a methodological `tool kit' to analyse specific power relationships. Foucault (1980: 142) listed 6 features of power:

> (i) Power is co-extensive with the social body; that there are no spaces of primal liberty between the meshes of its network;
>
> (ii) that relations of power are interwoven with other kinds of relations (production, kinship, family, sexuality) for which they play at once a conditioning and a conditioned role;
>
> (iii) that these relations don't take the sole form of prohibition and punishment, but are of multiple forms;
>
> (iv) that their inter-connections delineate general conditions of domination, and this domination is organized into a more-or-less coherent and unitary strategic form; that dispersed, heteromorphous, localised procedures of power are adapted, re-reinforced and transformed by these global strategies, all this being accompanied by numerous phenomena of inertia, displacement and resistance; hence one should not assume a massive and primal condition of domination, a binary structure with `dominators' on one side and `dominated' on the other, but rather a multiform production of relations of domination which are partially susceptible into overall strategies;
>
> (v) that power relations do indeed `serve', but not at all because they are `in the service of' an economic interest taken as primary, rather because they are capable of being utilised in strategies;
>
> (vi) that there are no relations of power without resistances.

Foucault's (1977) discussion of Bentham's panopticon in **Disciplin and Punish**[11] employed these notions of power in an empirical study of historical transformation in French disciplinary techniques from punishment to discipline. The key feature of the historical transformation was a change in technique and strategy of dealing with deviance, from the simple and progressively less effective exercise of negative and personal power on the bodies of transgressors, to more politically effective and economically efficient methods. Inmates, school children, monks, and paupers were made to regulate their own behaviour, to literally take on as their own ideas of propriety, those of their captors. Inmates understood that they could not avoid the sight of an overseer, irrespective of whether or not the overseer was actually there watching. This aspect of inescapability operated as a mechanism to effect the permeability of the subject's mind as well as reconstitution of the overseers positive knowledge:

> An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising surveillance over, and against himself ... a superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be minimal cost. (Foucault, 1980: 155)

In its specifically historical context, the Benthamite mechanism was there to effect a `reign of opinion' that would `refuse to tolerate areas of darkness' (Foucault, 1980: 154). In short, the will to knowledge when given institutional form and effected in a `gaze' was capable of producing a change in inmates' behaviour and beliefs. The success of this particular strategy depended on the inescapablity of a total institution. Expression of counter knowledges would always be possible where the gaze was **known** to be incomplete. One of Foucault's interviewers, Michelle Perot noted with Foucault's agreement, that Taylorism was a system to enact workforce discipline in the relatively closed factory context. Although discipline was certainly there, and machine pacing acted as a kind of panopticon, well known resistances stubbornly manifest themselves:

> The system of Taylorism was an extraordinary invention by an engineer who wanted to combat laziness and everything that slows down production. But one can still ask: did Taylorism ever really work? The Factory with its time-schedules long aroused passive resistance manifested by the fact of people simply not turning up for work. Such is the epic of the Saint-Lundi, `Holy Monday', the workers invented as a weekly break. (Foucault, 1980: 162-163)

A second feature of the potency of distinctively `modern' methods of punishment was that punishment was certain and inescapable. Reform had an effect on the knowledge of people, outside of the institution, civility was being reproduced in the heads of inmates, thereby being reproduced in their own heads.

Discipline, Class Relations and the State

> The bourgeoisie is perfectly aware that a new constitution or legislature will not suffice to assure its hegemony; it realises that it has to invent a new technology ensuring the irrigation by effects of power of the whole social body down to its smallest particles. (Foucault, 1980: 156).

Ideas of entitlement, of right to benefit, within which discourse on welfare receipts are cradled are distinctively `modern.' Basic features of a `modernity' characterized social relations implied in particular state provided welfare arrangements. `Liberal' discourse of rights and citizenship involved in welfare state construction and then growth **constituted** social subjects by an inclusion and exclusion that operated on a massive scale to legitimate particular forms of labour force participation and exclude others. This thesis traces changes in forms and methods of `knowing' or understanding, subjects of unemployment benefit administration.

In terms of the present project, the value of Foucault's work relates not as much to his uncovering of specific historically located forms and places of domination, but rather to the adoption of a method of inquiry which examines what shape discipline took, when, and how it was accomplished (Richters, 1988:619-620). Though `grand narratives' are rejected by Foucault, we are only prevented from narrowly circumscribing a research agenda that necessarily places subjection as domination back at the level of emancipation of an essential social subject such as **homo faber**. It is valid to locate forms of discursive constructions in order to shed light on connections between historical forms of social policy and cultural identities implied in the loafer/unemployed dichotomy.

Dean's (1991) discussion of **idleness**, as being central to the discursive construction of poverty, indicates a central process of social and cultural reproduction. By differentiating between those who cannot work, those who will work and those who will not work as a fundamental method of identification, it is possible to conceive of action to ameliorate poverty in the same terms. Hence `work for those that will labour, punishment for those that will not and bread for those that cannot' becomes advocated (Dean, 1991:28). From such a construction comes reification of moral/economic identities, the **corrections** for which, necessarily find problems they are set up to solve.

In Dean's case it was the nineteenth century market that became benefactor of poverty relief which included the moral restoration of work in the souls of work house inmates.

As noted above, resistance is always present. Systems designed to effect cash payments are not total institutions. Beneficiaries are not `inmates' so far as the panopticon is not so `pan'. There is space for manoeuvrability within the institutional identity of claimant. While `welfare policy has a `positive and productive role in disciplining the body and forming the social' (Hewit, 1983:79), caution should be exercised when discussing the actual working of `forming the social' in the heads of claimants.

By the same token, either through benefit receipt or through the support of budget deficits, regulations governing access to social security payments **became** a key institutional structure through which **social actors understood each other**. For the operation of social power to be manifest as `forming the social' it is not necessary for `the social' to creep inside of the heads of claimants. The relationship **to society** that claimants gained, by virtue of being a claimant, established a terrain of the social. Once outside of the social by virtue of becoming a claimant (particularly of unemployment benefit) the welfare institution became an outpost guarding access to the social terrain by separating the like from the unlike.

Giddens (1987: 184-187) also noted the value of Foucault's framework of disciplinary technique developed in **Disciplin and Punish** as lying in processes of deviance construction by the state. Giddens' argued that modern state institutions apart from prisons, do not constitute total institutions for the exercise of discipline through direct supervision of bodies. Discipline may be more diffuse:

> It is not, as such, part of the directive influence of the state apparatus, but a generalized phenomenon enhancing internal pacification through promoting the discipline of potentially recalcitrant groups at major points of tension, especially in the sphere of production. (Giddens, 1987: 186-187)

Undoubtedly Giddens meant work places when he referred to `sphere of production' but he could also have meant social security offices and still have achieved the same intent. Surveillance effected through work testing is a form of discipline that seeks `internal pacification' of people in `the sphere of production.' Giddens went on to argue that surveillance, when accomplished by the state as ideal community, was capable of affecting a categorical gaze generally. Deviants could be made known and punishable through surveillance systems:

> Disciplinary power, linked to, and expressive of, the sanctions that those in the state apparatus are able to wield in respect of `deviance.' It is this second aspect that is most closely meshed with the development of surveillance as the policing of the routine activities of the mass of the population by specialized agencies. (Giddens, 1987: 187)

Administration of state social policy, may be seen in this context as more than an annoying but benign `technocratization' (Giddens, 1981: 177). Rather, an organization of categories constituting `society' is reflected and enacted. Here Giddens drew on Habermas to note the permeability of state practices by the commodity form. Donzelot (1979) understood the `social policy' as in `social policy' vs `economic policy' to refer to a set of means, an:

> entire range of methods which make the members of a society relatively safe from the effects of economic fluctuations by providing a certain security - which give their existence possibilities of relations that are flexible enough, and internal stakes that are convincing enough, to avert the dislocation that divergences of interests and beliefs would entail. (Donzelot,/1979: XXVI)

Welfare policy (a strange term mixing the ideas of `policing' and `politics' (Corrigan and Corrigan, 1979: 1)) is seen here to act as a method of constituting social relations, actually bringing them into existence as concretely defined locations for social identity that get filled with the bodies of `claimants'. In this sense, claimants have institutional identities that enable them to be known as one sort of claimant versus another or non-claimant, enabling the application of legitimate techniques of treatment. Goran Therborn argued that a process of `excommunication' is exacted by the state on those who would challenge the validity of discursive formations thus constituted (Therborn, 1980:175). Within this context work testing operates as a ritual of `excommunication' that establishes the identities of heretics in the bodies of claimants. The power of the state then is manifest in the extent to which it is able to give the shape and identity of resistance to legitimate labour force participation.

Information gathered through work testing about a claimant's activities in relation to job searching is meant to find out something about a person known as claimant in order to establish the knowledge that this person is a labour force participant. The evidence so gathered constitutes labour force participation. In other words, work testing is a strategy of `governance' that establishes an abstraction of labour force participation through procedures that are meant to demonstrate its existence. Labour force participation **becomes** specific types of job search activities, for specific types of jobs done, by certain kinds of people (male\female, old\young, married\unmarried, educated in various ways and living in certain locations). In these terms, a non-working labour force participant is a state constructed entity overlaid with claimant identities by institutional interpretation of idealized labour force participation. Similarly, Corrigan argues:

> One way in which states crystallize knowledge/power relations is through their insistence on (and often sole right to) collecting `facts' in certain forms and the way that we tend to see these forms and the `facts' they make available) as neutral techniques. (Corrigan, 1990, 1981:140)

If techniques are `neutral' as in disinterested, it seems less likely that the truth or veracity of claims made by carriers and producers of them will or can be questioned. This is in effect a `trick accomplished by reality' (Corrigan, 1990: 139). Writers such as Green (1983) and Smith (1990) have argued that this `trick' of reality appropriates the categories through which those encountering the reality (textually or verbally accomplished) view subjects of its domain.

Hewit (1983) proposes that social policy, particularly in the area of poverty relief, actively constitutes the targets of its influence firstly through research that seeks to know `in general' what poverty is and `who' are poor, and secondly through institutional procedures designed to enact the categories generated through supposedly benign or `objective' research. `Power in the welfare state is seen in the practices of the agents of bio-power.' (Hewit, 1983:80). It is entirely feasible to construct or contain an identity within a codified framework that is produced outside the frame of reference of the individual known as an institutional subject. A schemata for conceptualizing the general role of work testing as a method of buttressing the commodity form of class relations may be drawn at this point.

Two forms of outcomes of categorical procedures and techniques employed in work testing are distilled from the above discussion of power and subjectivity. The first is normalization of the subject **enacted on the subject** (disciplining the individual to be a normal worker). Disciplinary techniques are directly applied to real people appearing before work test administrators. Discipline is enacted on them, at a specific place and time in a variety of ways. Making inmates or claimants or school children `normal' also has an effect on people who do not have a direct institutional contact (forming the social). For example, the idea that there is discipline of `loafers' tells those who look upon that discipline that there is a difference between themselves and those considered loafers. This is a disciplinary effect. The existence of disciplinary techniques enacted on particular claimants, produces as well as reflects a disciplinary effect. Fear of being or becoming a `dole bludger' could reduce the de-commodifying potential of unemployment benefits. It is important to make this distinction because it is argued throughout this thesis that both disciplinary processes are at work simultaneously. **As a whole**, these processes are central features of disciplinary regimes. Though they operate in tandem, effects should be seen as distinct and different, one reinforcing the other.

With work testing conceived as at least these two disciplinary strategies, we may proceed to place these strategies in the larger context of development of twentieth century `welfare capitalism'. Habermas (1971) and Offe (1984) set out a framework for the historical development of legitimation crises in capitalism that is capable of addressing disciplinary functions of work testing and changes in them.

It should be mentioned at the outset that crisis theories, exemplified in the works of Habermas, Keane, O'Connor and Offe have a certain functionalism about them. However, teleological argument is avoided with the idea that capitalist social systems don't inevitably tend toward equilibrium, but contain immanent contradictions that may or may not be resolved in a specifiable manner. In other words, they attempt to combine ideas of dialectical social development *and* ideas of the possibility of an autonomous social subject that may act in ways that are highly historically contingent and not necessarily determinable. The functionalist language imbedded in systems theory may give rise to suspicions of a tendency toward historical determinism and `grand theory'. However, much may be obtained from Habermas' and Offe's linkage of economic, political and cultural contradictions of advanced capitalism to add to the present study's minimal theoretical parameters.

D) Transformations in Disciplinary Regimes

In this section, Habermas' and Offe's work on contradictions of the welfare state provide key concepts through which regimes and transitions between them can be described and explained. In short, the commodity form as an organizing social principle in capitalist societies is buttressed by welfare discipline. Transitions between types of discipline and their effects and meanings occur in response to crises experienced by capitalism. Social relationships are established with each new crisis solution mechanism that emerge from contradictions and conflicts experienced in previous regimes.

> Our systems of social security impose a particular way of life to which individuals are subjected, and any person or group that, for one reason or another, will not or cannot embrace that way of life is marginalized by the very operation of the institutions. Foucault (1988: 164-165)

Here Foucault briefly grappled with a central contradiction of `social security'. To avoid starvation, one must give up some degree of autonomy to social security regulations. Lifestyles in contradiction to ideas of justice within which support is constituted do not get supported.

Social security systems in most western countries[12] are what is called `residualist' in the welfare literature. That is, income support is only available for those demonstrably and **involuntarily** unable to support themselves in any other way. Income support is `residual' to the market. In Australia, sickness benefits, invalid pensions, single parent pensions and benefits, and unemployment benefits constitute the mainstays of the cash transfer part of the social security system. Non-cash transfers effected through progressive elements of the taxation system include heavily subsidized drugs and health care services.

The approach to understanding and analysing types of poverty relief addressed in this dissertation may perhaps be briefly illustrated in reference to other approaches to `welfare state' history. For the moment, Abrams' (1982:8) definition of `welfare state' will serve as a reference point.

> By welfare state I mean the measures a government takes to protect the standard of living of its subjects in circumstances where the ordinary workings of the market are judged incapable of doing so adequately. Such circumstances typically include old age, childhood, motherhood, illness, disability, unemployment and low wage employment. The measures taken will typically include pension schemes, child benefit or family allowance schemes, unemployment [and sickness benefits], insurance protection against industrial accidents and some degree of public control of health and education services.

This descriptive shell may be interpreted as a `welfare state' of some sort, as may historical interpretation be developed of how these `events' came to pass. Ideas of what the `welfare state' **is**, apart from a bland description of benefits and pensions, have tended to centre on two issues. Firstly, welfare states **are** interpretations of what `welfare' benefits and pensions do. Redistributive effects are key issues, particularly for the left. For the neo-conservative right, the welfare state is generally a disincentive to invest and to work. Welfare states **are** also interpretations of how welfare benefits were won by a working class or forfeited by capitalists.

Esping-Andersen (1990: 5) developed a typology of `welfare state regimes', in which the `welfare state' was seen as `a principal institution in the construction of different models of post-war capitalism.' The extent of de-commodifying and de-stratifying effects were the two key issues on which a country's `welfare state' was assessed. At the bottom end of the scale sat Australia, New Zealand and Canada. These were regarded as **liberal** welfare states. A `work ethic' is said to have pervaded eligibility rules and benefit levels. Further, market based stratification is reproduced or enhanced by the welfare system. At the top end of the scale, the `Social Democratic' regime comprised Scandinavian countries operating universalistic systems which de-commodify and de-stratify. The effects of welfare states are seen as identifying characteristics. This comparative approach is preferred to others because it moves away from homogenizing theory. That is, there are several logics of welfare states and welfare development at play. Particular historical conditions encountered by different countries determine their welfare state configuration. Commentary **within** Australia interpreting `the Australian welfare state' tend to fall along fairly traditional lines.

Commentators from the right have traditionally argued that the welfare state is a bad thing because it has been a massive drag on the economy and causes de-commodification (reduces propensity to do paid work) of the working class. What is at issue is a particular interpretation of what exactly was being won and lost by antagonists in the twentieth century welfare struggle.

Histories written from the conservative, `Fabian' or `whiggish' (Kennedy, 1989:14) left have argued that the welfare state has some problems but overall it is a good thing to have around. Generally speaking, more was better. Exemplars include M. A. Jones (1990) and Brian Dickey (1987).

The `cultural Marxist' left has critiqued the `welfare state' because it doesn't really offer much de-commodification at all. Works such as Roe (1976), Connell and Irving (1980), Watts (1982), Kennedy (1982, 1989), and Macintyre (1985) have undertaken detailed examinations of exactly what the **more** involved, how it was done, to whom and why. Emerging and changing forms of people conceived and dealt with **in particular ways** as **citizens** were highlighted beyond aggregate statistics, lofty ideological debates, and daring parliamentary manoeuvrings by champions of the left and the right.

These characterizations are oversimplified, but they summarize an approach to the concept of power that is akin to that adopted here. Struggles for legislative power between labour and capital interests have indeed characterized twentieth century welfare politics in Australia and elsewhere. However, the concept of `disciplinary regimes' adopted in this study, does not seek to place the ebb and flow of a tactical parliamentary war between the left and the right at the centre of narrative. Rather, an attempt is made to identify more diffuse forms of power at play, that structure categories through which a particular aspect of welfare policy can be understood.

The present study examines power as disciplinary practice within the context of Habermas' (1973) and Offe's (1984) theoretical framework of emergent tendencies toward crisis in twentieth century capitalism. The approach these authors adopt provides the present project with several advantages. Firstly, this tradition's emphasis on cultural processes of hegemony and resistance as necessarily linked (though different terminology is used) enables interpretation of action surrounding disciplinary techniques **as** resistance. Secondly, crisis tendencies in cultural and state administrative forms, brings to centre stage the inherently **political** nature of the economy. The economy is not autonomous, but dependent on cultural legitimacy. This position accords well with the theoretical perspectives used to construct the framework of disciplinary power discussed above. Further, Habermas' and Offe's analytical framework is open-ended rather than deterministic in a mechanistic or ahistorical sense.

That is, when applying it to interpretation of any particular historical topography, manifest contractions, resistances, and peculiarities of **discursive formations are not determined, but are subject to the grounded context within which social actors engage themselves**. We are provided with a further set of pointers to examine historically specific phenomena.

Habermas, Offe and Crises of Legitimation

The central theme underlying Habermas's (1973) thesis on crisis tendencies is that social systems tend toward maintaining their identities around organizing principles. This is in contrast to the idea of `mode of production' (conceived in a structuralist Marxist sense). The commodity form is a cultural phenomenon, as is the concept `economy' a category of association which translates the commodity form into material benefits for those receiving profits.

Traditional societies were organized around kinship principles and liberal-capitalist societies are organized around the commodity form. Processes of system integration and socio-cultural integration operate to maintain integrity of social systems. Processes of **system integration** involve operation of steering mechanisms that support system goal values (in liberal-capitalism these are material accumulation). System legitimation refers to justification that is given to regulatory methods or steering mechanisms (such as wage bargaining) that are utilised to ensure orderly conduct of system goal pursuit. **Social integration** refers to processes of normative support that operate in a cultural `life world' to mentally bind social actors together in a fashion that will support system goal values.

> Crises in social systems are not produced through accidental changes in the environment but through structurally inherent system imperatives that are incompatible and cannot be integrated. (Habermas, 1973: 2)

Habermas (1973) identifies four inter-connected crisis tendencies in advanced capitalism. These are economic, motivation, rationality and legitimation crises.[13] Economic crisis tendencies are distorted by state participation in the capital accumulation process. Economic crises are now manifest in inflation, and increasing public debt load. Rationality crises occur when steering imperatives contradict each other. For example, unemployment benefits must be administered in such a way that a process that is inherently de-commodifying must be commodifying in effect. Motivation crises occur when civil and or familial privatism erode. Civil privatism involves a politics that does not seek to participate in organizing administrative rationality, but is only concerned with output. Familial privatism involves recreational and occupational values that are satisfied through the market based consumption necessarily. Crisis tendencies exist when demands of the commodity form, around which advanced capitalism still revolves, effect an erosion of the capacity of civil and familial privatism to contain emergent forms of expression. Legitimacy crises emerge when states fail to perform balancing functions:

> If governmental crisis management fails, it lags behind programatic demands that it has placed on itself. The penalty for this failure is withdrawal of legitimation. Thus the scope for action contracts precisely at those moments in which it needs to be drastically expanded. (Habermas, 1973: 69)

By resolving legitimation crises in the 1930s through extended state intervention, **fiscal and motivational crises** tendencies were addressed by the liberal democratic state. Fiscal crisis of system integration developed during the liberal capitalist phase, was smoothed out with Keynsian economic planning. **Motivational crises** in social system integration were addressed with assurances that during times of system failure, potential to pursue system goals (material) would be insured through the welfare state.

The commodity form was rescued from contradictions involved in social relations it produced. However, at the point where state intervention was directed to retrieve the commodity form, it also threatened it vis a vis providing workers with capacity to resist commodification through unemployment benefits. Crisis tendencies remained, but became **displaced** from direct class relations to relations mediated by the state. The state absorbed tendencies toward contradictions that could produce crises.

The **fiscal crisis** of the state, experienced from the early 1970's onward, was preceded by a serious **motivational crisis** and set up a trajectory for development of a **rationality crisis** in the state. System goals were once again imperiled. The commodity form as a social organizing principle came up for debate.

Crisis resolution involved re-establishment of the commodity form pursued through economic rationalism of public policy. The market system was brought directly to bear on the socio-cultural system, particularly in the area of welfare administration. Needs were interpreted in strictly economic terms and disciplinary techniques such as work testing were employed to re-establish the primacy of the market in definition of appropriate `worker' identities.

This brief summary glosses over many features of Habermas' and Offe's complex theoretical work. However, we are already provided with a method of historically schematizing disciplinary practices. Discipline may be said to operate in the social `life-world' at a motivational level to buttress the commodity form as an organizing principle. Figure 2. 1 shows three spheres of social action (economic, political/administrative and normative/cultural) that connect in advanced capitalism's social system. Figure 2. 2 presents a brief descriptive summary. The disciplinary function of work testing may be said to operate as a connecting mechanism between all three sub-systems. We would expect during times of crisis that work testing would operate to maintain system imperatives by establishing and reproducing linkage between the three sub-systems at a motivational level.

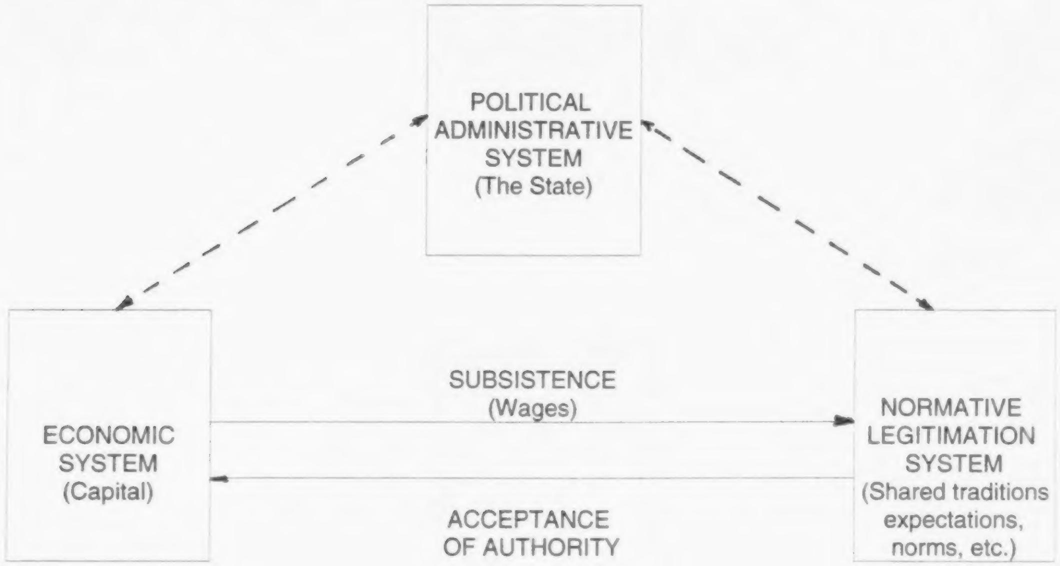
Habermas presents a schematic of historical development that takes immanent contradiction in maintenance of the commodity form as its central principle. Of relevance to this study are `liberal capitalist', `organized capitalist' and `post capitalist' social formations (Habermas, 1973: 17). Sayer and others discussed above, eloquently elucidated Marx's conception of the material and ideal duality of the commodity form from Marx's original formulation. Habermas's discussion of a `liberal capitalist' social formation follows a similar route. The abstraction of the state accomplished a formal structure of civil relations that would maintain consistency between bourgeois forms of association and capital accumulation. Economic crisis turns to system crisis because the social sub-system is organized directly by the economic sub-system.

Habermas doesn't provide a diagrammatic representation of relations between sub-systems in the liberal-capitalist social form. However, Figure 2. 1 describes what this would look like. The economy is separated from, but directly feeds from and into the social sub-system. The state performed minimalist steering functions by protecting labour from extreme exploitation and by ensuring the continuity of civil law upon which capitalist accumulation takes place. When system crisis occurs at the point of economic crisis, then the state moved to its position in figure 2. 1. There, the state sought to balance demands of the economic and cultural (normative) subsyatems by trading economic steering (economic planning and legal infrastructure) for tax revenue on one hand and on the other hand, welfare state services were traded for loyalty to the state and its right to govern.

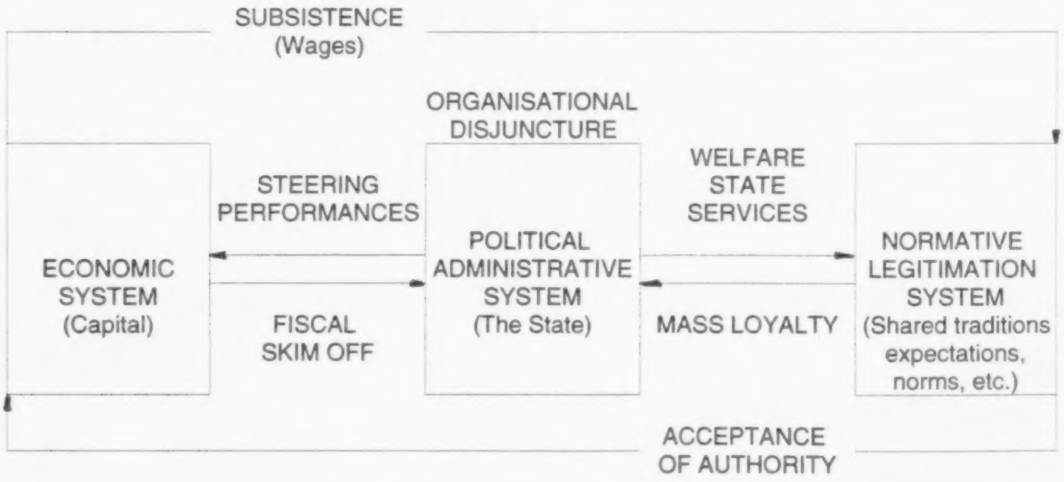
Steering mechanisms multiplied and increased in complexity over time. Contradictions that the state stepped in to resolve, by providing a "buffer" between economic legitimacy (fiscal) and cultural legitimacy (motivational), were not eradicated. They were merely made latent in increased imperatives of the state to perform planning (steering) functions. In other words, the economic sub - system's tendency toward crisis was not dissolved, but merely displaced to the state. The welfare state **became** the arbiter of cultural demands (actually intensifying some of these demands) and economic demands. The state became a crisis manager.

Offe's (1984) thesis about `crisis of crisis management' most clearly identifies trajectories set up in this arrangement. The state was, to a limited degree, able to contain cultural values within the commodity form (economic sub - system values) while its intervention ensured material success. The Keynsian consensus (the post-war economic theoretical construct within which the state's steering capacity was constructed) broke down in the wake of the 1973-1974 world wide economic crisis. The state confronted the concurrent maturity of a crisis of motivation which arose as a reaction to the culturally stultifying commodification of the post-war `long boom'. Confronted with dual crises - economic and cultural - a situation of **rationality crisis** emerged in the state itself. Figure 2. 2 shows these crisis tendencies in relation to each other (Habermas's, 1973: 50).

Figure 2. 1: Three Pre-Welfare Subsystems and Their Interrelation


POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM (The State)
ECONOMIC SYSTEM (Capital)
SUBSISTENCE (Wages)
NORMATIVE LEGITIMATION SYSTEM (Shared traditions expectations, norms, etc.)
ACCEPTANCE OF AUTHORITY

Three Post-Welfare Subsystems and Their Interrelation


SUBSISTENCE (Wages)
ORGANISATIONAL DISJUNCTURE
STEERING PERFORMANCES
WELFARE STATE SERVICES
ECONOMIC SYSTEM (Capital)
POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM (The State)
NORMATIVE LEGITIMATION SYSTEM (Shared traditions expectations, norms, etc.)
FISCAL SKIM OFF
MASS LOYALTY
ACCEPTANCE OF AUTHORITY

Modified from Pusey (1991: 197)

Figure 2. 3: Social Subsystems, Associated Normative Structures and 'Limiting Substratum'

Subsystems	*Normative Structures*	*Limiting Substratum*
Socio-cultural	Status system; subcultural forms of life	Distribution of privately available rewards and rights of disposition
Political	Political Institutions (State)	Distribution of legitimate power (and structural force); available organisational rationality
Economic	Economic institutions (relations of production)	Distribution of economic power (and structural force); available forces of production

Crisis Tendencies in Advanced Capitalism

Crisis Tendencies	*Proposed explanations*
Economic Crisis	a) The state aparatus acts as unconscious, nature -like executive organ of the law of value; b) The state aparatus acts as planning agent of united "monopoly capital".
Rationality Crisis	Destruction of administrative rationality occurs through c) Opposed interests of individual capitalists; d) the production (necessary for continued existence) of structures foriegn to the system.
Legitimation Crisis	e) Systemic limits; f) Unintended side effects (politicisation) of administrative interventions in the cultural tradition;
Motivation Crisis	g) erosion of traditions important for continued existence; h) overloading through universalistic value-systems ("new needs").

Modified from Habermas (1973)

Habermas insists that the bio-cybernetic systems theory approach loses its organic predictability at the point where state steering functions increase. Because crisis tendencies have become administratively contained political processes, resolution or non-resolution is indeterminate. The important point here is that social transformation is possible and not given in any sort of mechanistic logic of development.

The Loafer/Unemployed Dichotomy, Discipline and Motivational Crises

Habermas provides a useful analytical framework to characterize historical shifts in the loafer/unemployed dichotomy and disciplinary strategies surrounding it in Australia. The loafer/unemployed dichotomy sits squarely within connections between economic and cultural sub-systems in figure 2. 1 and then after 1945, between economic and cultural sub-systems mediated by the state. If it may be taken as established that the loafer/unemployed dichotomy is essential to the construction of the abstract `worker' as part of the commodity form, then we would expect that the loafer/unemployed dichotomy would be maintained in capitalist system crisis resolution strategies. Habermas (1973: 75) states:

> I speak of a motivation crisis when the socio-cultural system changes in such a way that its output becomes dysfunctional for the system of social labour.

Habermas' thesis on motivation crises mainly centres on the post-war period and involves a rich discussion of components including **scientism** and **post-auratic art**. While these represent interesting avenues of pursuit, several others are more central to present discussion. Habermas argued that bourgeois values, central to the cultural system's linkage to the economic and political system, such as **achievement ideology**, **possessive individualism**, **orientation to exchange value**, **universalistic utilitarianism**, are constantly under threat of erosion. These central pillars of labour as a commodity form, as **homo economicus**, as **homo faber** and expressed in the term `worker', were seen as in need of constant buttressing: `bourgeois culture as a whole was never able to reproduce itself from itself. It was always dependent on supplementation' (Habermas, 1973: 77). Habermas went on to argue that traditional values were needed, particularly familial connections, to ensure that motivational tendencies remained intact. He further argued that these tendencies are eroded with massive job loss, welfare provision and the rise of a `youth culture'.

Habermas recognized that the actual erosion of these values and indeed their existence in the first place must be subject to empirical verification. However the important point for our discussion is not so much that these exist or are eroding , so much as the theoretical point that they are logically necessary to bourgeois hegemony. In his chapter, `**Social Policy and the Theory of the State**', Offe (1984: 99-100) explicitly located social policy as a commodifying device. Offe argued that unemployment generated several structural problems that social policy as, disciplinary device, had to simultaneously cope with.

Labour needed incorporation into the supply side of the labour market. This means that people had to keep offering themselves for what work was available. That is, they had to remain motivated to work. Secondly, they had to be kept fed while offering themselves. Thirdly, the supply of jobs needed to match or at least approximate the demand. Offe (1984: 96-97) remarked that these system imperatives do not get solved on their own by the blind hand of starvation: `If `economic' relations compel anything, it is the invention of social institutions and relations of domination' that are based on more than the silent force of the market:

> The transformation of dispossessed labour power into active' wage-labour does not occur through the market alone, but must be sanctioned by a political structure of rule through state power. The owner of labour power first becomes a wage-labourer as a citizen of a state. Thus, we understand the term social policy to include the totality of those politically organized relations and strategies that contribute to the resolution of these three structural problems by continuously effecting the transformation of owners of labour power into wage-labourers ... Devices are constructed so that, simultaneously and in shifting combinations, they seek to control motives, adjust labour capacities and quantitatively regulate the labour supply.

By seeking to ensure willingness and availability, work testing connects economic system imperatives to socio-cultural system imperatives. If this is the case, then we can describe strategies pursued for maintenance of the loafer/unemployed dichotomy, as socio-cultural system steering mechanisms. These steering mechanisms are deeper, or long-run outcomes of policies that, on the surface, reflect short-term economic, legitimation, and administrative imperatives. When cultural attachment is withdrawn from the market then the system as a whole is threatened. The commodity form ceases to be recognized as an organizing principle, and in many senses this is a far more threatening possibility than other short term crisis tendencies.

Given Habermas' characterization of transition between liberal and advanced capitalist forms, it is reasonable to argue that, in general, strategies adopted to establish the loafer/unemployed dichotomy (that may not sustain itself in the face of fiscal crisis), will change according to demands made on more general forms of system steering mechanisms. For example, during liberal capitalism, bourgeois forms such as **achievement ideology**, **possessive individualism**, **orientation to exchange value**, **universalistic utilitarianism** will be pursued through the market. Capitalism must reproduce visions of itself in actions and motivations of people in transition to `workers'. At the point where the market fails to automatically provide capacity for these expressions of liberal identity, bourgeois personnel must enact disciplinary mechanisms. When the state intervened it would be expected that disciplinary potential of the loafer/unemployed dichotomy will alter according to the conceptual construction of the state, **and** then become prone to contradictions **thus established**.

Offe (1984: 156) argues that critiques of the welfare state as a repressive social control mechanism focus on replacement of personnel from bourgeois reformers to bureaucrats. That is, repression and conversely, subject constitution, are merely done by the state as an agency for capital:

> The reason why the bureaucratic form of administering social services is maintained in spite of its inefficiency and ineffectiveness ... must be connected with the social control function exercised by centralised welfare bureaucracies. This analysis leads to the critique of the **repressiveness** of the welfare state, its social control aspect. Such repressiveness is, in the view of the critics, indicated by the fact that, in order to qualify for the benefits and services of the welfare state, the client must not only prove his or her `need', but must also be a **deserving** client - a client, that is who complies with the dominant economic, political, and cultural standards and norms of the society. The heavier the needs, the stricter these requirements tend to be defined. [Emphasis added]

Disciplinary techniques utilized to maintain distinction between loafer\unemployed actively plant the soul of the `worker' in the bodies of claimants. While this argument is considered valid and will be pursued in this thesis, the logic of legitimate state participation in advanced capitalism demands attention be given to another, more potent aspect of state administration of disciplinary functions. The idea of the state as an `imagined community' facilitates the state's ability to represent the interests of the working class. Maintenance of connection between liberal cultural forms and the market is not only maintained by direct clinical practices of making people **normal**, but also by a process of **fragmentation** by marginalization that rests squarely in the state's role to reproduce labour power.

Processes of marginalization enacted in **state** welfare institutions differ from bourgeois institutions precisely along the lines of discourse on rights to benefits. Rights to welfare benefits establish legitimacy in the cultural sphere on the premise that the state is agent for a working class. The state in effect **becomes** a working class enacting itself. Those excluded from benefit receipt (particularly unemployment benefit receipt) by virtue of the fact that they are not **willing** to work, places those marginalized outside of the working class. The working class defines its own boundaries through the state. The loafer/unemployed dichotomy **becomes a disciplinary mechanism in itself when accomplished by a legitimate state protecting the rights of workers to unemployment benefit**. If this act is successfully accomplished then the working class will continue to understand itself through the cultural logic within which it was constituted. Reproduction of the generalized category `worker' will be buttressed in times of high unemployment by the loafer/unemployed distinction. **The distinction itself is a systematically produced disciplinary mechanism**. Offe argued that welfare mechanisms that were established as a safety net to reproduce labour power had to be constructed in such a way that de-commodification did not result:

> Such `catchment areas' must not be freely selectable; access to them must be coupled with administratively controlled admission requirements, since otherwise a slackening of the `compulsion to sell' able-bodied labour power will be likely. In this respect, social policy is a state strategy for incorporating labour power into the wage - labour relation, a relation that was able to attain its contemporary scope and `normality' only by virtue of the effectiveness of this strategy. Understood in this way, social policy is not some sort of state `reaction' to the `problem' of the working class; rather, it ineluctably contributes to the constitution of the working class. (Offe, 1984: 97-98)

I would add to Offe's thesis that `the state' itself is a disciplinary strategy reflecting interpretations of `worker' through strategies accomplishing the loafer/unemployed dichotomy. `The state' as working class representative reproduces the loafer/unemployed dichotomy as a valid reference point for workers to understand themselves. In this way, fragmentation of the working class through the loafer/unemployed dichotomy effects a reproduction of the category of `worker' as valid. This form of disciplinary articulation of cultural and market spheres is only accomplishable by the state through the discourse of `rights' and `obligations'. Benevolent administration of unemployment is unable to accomplish the feat by which maintenance of the distinction between loafer and unemployed may find one person abusing another who retaliates with a shot gun blast.

It has been established that labour as a commodity form is manifest in the cultural category `worker' and is constantly reproduced in the loafer/unemployed dichotomy as a stabilizing device. It follows that Offe's concept of `crisis of crisis management' implies that contradictions of state administration may place the veracity of the dichotomy in jeopardy. Habermas (1973) argued that the state underwent a rationality crisis emergent from contradictory demands from the cultural sphere for de-commodification on one hand and demands from the economic sphere for assistance in capital-accumulation on the other. In advanced (welfare state) capitalism, the state, by virtue of its mediating role between the economic and cultural sub-systems, produces contradictions to its own purpose. That is, immanent rationality crises emerge when its own actions lead to consequences that contradict those actions. We would expect that processes of administrative construction of loafer/unemployed dichotomy essential to reproduction of labour as a commodity form lead to a contestation of the dichotomy itself.

The de-centred subject underlying post-structuralist critical frameworks is potentially capable of resisting hegemonic social structures. Although social subjectivity is discursively constructed, two dynamics give rise to resistance. Firstly, as Laclau and Moufe argued, a multiplicity of subject positions is actively negotiated on an on-going basis by a each individual. Individuals bring to bear interpretations about their own life situations from other areas of their lives. In other words, each individual has a critical capacity to reflect on normative dimensions of their actions. Secondly, manifestation of discursive structures in institutional arrangements (such as state/client discourse manifest in application forms) plays itself out, as it were, through a process of dialectical development or immanent contradiction. What I mean here is a negation of the old discursive form proceeding from the particular arrangement of relations in the old discursive form.

In Offe's framework, the dominance/submission relationship articulated with state/client relationships leads to extension of client demands through increased expectations, which, can lead to a negation of dominance/submission at the point when demands become internally politicized in the bureaucracy. `Rationality crisis' may be manifest in bureaucratic state personnel interpreting their duties in ways that are dysfunctional for the political state's ability to organize its own steering mechanisms.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to outline theoretical principles used in developing the approach to the central research question. To recap, the research question is, `how has the figure of the loafer been implicated in welfare as disciplinary technique in Australia?'

Foucault's power/knowledge relationship provides a way of identifying power in administrative categories and practices. Disciplinary practices accomplished in work testing may be thought of as disciplining the individual claimant to be a good `worker' even though they do not have a job. The `figure' of the loafer may be seen as a social identity constituted in discourse on unemployment. Work test regulations can be seen as disciplinary technique designed to separate the **loafer** from the **real worker**. Further, Foucault's work should be seen together with Sayer's thesis on the abstraction of the civil subjectivity of `worker' through the state. Disciplinary techniques changed in form and effect during the twentieth century. These changes are reflected in distinctions between disciplinary regimes. In post-war disciplinary regimes discipline also acted to give definition of `good workers' to those not captured within the welfare safety net.

A **de-centred** social subject was needed to provide for the possibility of emancipation from **homo faber**. **Homo faber** is considered to be part of the disciplinary process. A social subject capable of articulating itself as other than, or more than a `good worker' is considered capable of effectively resisting disciplinary discourse. This does not mean that such a resistance should necessarily exist. Rather the possibility of resistance is admitted to analysis.

Habermas' and Offe's theories of system crisis provided a comparative historical account of relationships between political, economic and cultural forms against which the Australian case is compared. Theories of state rationality, and cultural motivational crises arising from economic crises rationality system provide a loose structure to explanation of transition between disciplinary regimes addressed in the body of the thesis.

These points provide a minimal theoretical terrain within which disciplinary strategies may be examined. Chapters 4 to 9 apply these concepts to the specific details of work test practices accomplished in Australia.

A Note on Historical Methodology

> Doing Justice to the reality of History is not a matter of noting the way in which the past provides a background to the present; it is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future **out of** the past ... Historical Sociology is the attempt to understand the relationship of personal activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time. It makes the continuous process of construction the focal concern of social analysis. Historical Sociology is more a matter of how one interprets the world than of what bit of it one choses to study (Abrams 1982: 8-17).

This section addresses an important issue of methodology concerning the use of concepts taken from both Foucault and Habermas. Given that Foucault's methodology in **Disciplin and Punish** (a work from which many concepts used in this dissertation were derived) precludes use of `meta narratives', how can Habermas and Offe's crisis theories also be adopted to explain historical change? In order to address this issue I will first canvass general concerns of historical sociology as these touch on this issue to a degree. I will then attempt to discuss genealogical methodology in a way that will allow room for use of Habermas' and Offe's framework as a `post-hoc' ordering device.

In *Disciplin and Punish*, Foucault addressed specifically *modern* technologies of normalisation in context of a process of social construction spanning several centuries. The central thrust of this work was to synchronically *and* diachronically describe structures of knowledge/power relations imbedded in historical transformations of discipline and punishment. Analytical method used in this work was `genealogical' as opposed to `archaeological'. The `archaeological' and `genealogical' approaches were distinct but related projects.

The `archaeological' approach, developed in *The order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1973), *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (1975) and *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1977) was, as the term suggests, a sifting back through synchronic layers of representation to get at structures of truth claims (discourse). Epistemological issues surrounding differences between archaeological and genealogical approaches are complex and comprehensive discussion is beyond the scope of this section. However, one way to grasp a central relationship between the two is to consider archaeological method as a logically prior endeavour, which must be undertaken for a `genealogical' analysis. Barry Smart (1985: 47-49) argued that the differences in methodological approaches represented a `re-ordering' of analytic priorities:

> ... Archeology constitutes a way of doing historical analysis of systems of thought or discourse. To be more precise, archaeology seeks to describe the archive, the term employed by Foucault to refer to `the general system of the formation and transformation of statements existent at a given period within a particular society. The archive determines both the system of enunciability of a statement-event and its system of functioning ... The object of archaeological analysis is then a description of the archive, literally what may be spoken of in discourse; what statements survive, disappear, get re-used, repressed or censured; which terms are recognised as valid, questionable, invalid; what relations exist between the ` system of present statements' and those of the past, or between the discourses of `native' and foreign cultures; and what individuals, groups, or classes have access to particular kinds of discourse. The ultimate objective of such an analysis of discourse is not to reveal a hidden meaning or depth truth, nor to trace the origin of discourse to a particular mind or founding subject, but to document its conditions of existence and the practical field in which it is deployed.

Genealogy keeps archaeological techniques of analysis of discursive forms and looks beyond them to institutional and political structures within which discourse is located:

> Archaeology did not disappear from Foucault's analysis [in later works such as **Disciplin and Punish** and **The History of Sexuality**]. It retained a secondary presence and continued to serve as a methodology for isolating and analysing `local discursivities' in a manner which was complementary to `genealogy ... **Disciplin and Punish** addresses incarceration, the transformation in forms of punishment associated with the birth of the prison, the distinction between criminals and `good boys', and the constitution of a condition of `delinquency' which has become an object of the human sciences. In **Discipline and Punish**, discursive relations are not accorded priority. There is a shift towards an analysis of social institutions and practices. In particular, relations between power, knowledge and the body ... With Disciplin and Punish, conceptions of power-knowledge relations and of the exercise of technologies of power became explicit and, although Foucault's discussion addresses the transformation in forms of punishment and the emergence of the modern penal institution, the

> prison, the principal focus of analysis falls upon the power and knowledge relations that invest human bodies and subjugate them by turning them into objects of knowledge ... Foucault argued that humanity has not progressed from war, combat, and force to a more humane system of the rule of law, but from one form of domination to another. In other words, historical change might be more appropriately conceptualized in terms of the continual institutionalisation of forms of violence in systems of rules, or the succession of one mode of domination by another. Systems of rules thereby authorize and legitimate the commission of violence against violence, a corollary of which is the emergence of forms of resistance alongside what Foucault conceptualised as relations of power. Historical succession thus becomes a matter of contests and struggles over the system of rules ... The appropriation of a system of rules [is] a form of interpretation and in consequence the development of humanity as a series of interpretations which is the job of genealogy to record (Smart, 1985: 43, 54, 57).

The `genealogical' approach seeks to understand the history of the present in terms of diachronic connections to histories of the past that were addressed in their own terms. The `genealogical' approach was an analytic method of diachronically understanding *connections between* configurations of historical events, synchronically structured, without assigning teleological or functional relations of cause and effect. In other words, the genealogical approach sought a history of the present without utilising categories developed *in* the present to interpret pasts. Poster (1984: 64) explains genealogical method as different to one conception of the traditional historical materialist's use of dialectic:

> Friedrich Nietzsche, that determined hater of his own age, developed an alternative historical logic. Genealogy, as he termed it, was an effort to delegitimize the present by separating it from the past. The historian could depict the present as finite, limited, even repugnant, simply by locating differences in the past. The Nietzschean historian begins with the present and goes backward in time until a difference is located. He then proceeds forward again, tracing the transformation and taking care to preserve the discontinuities as well as the connections in the historical line. With the notion of difference as the guiding thread, historical materialists could open up the social field, unlocking the door of dialectical confinement. Instead of the search for totalized, universal suffering, historians could locate particular modes of domination, indicating the operations of technologies of power, as Foucault calls them, and tracing their lines of differential, discontinuous development. The rationalizations, justifications, and ideological niceties that mask practices of domination in the present could be revealed in juxtaposition to equally coherent, but very different, ideas and practices from the past.

This genealogical approach to history was an alternative to the teleological and sheer mechanistic quality of one interpretation of historical materialism's use of dialectic. The problem with dialectical reasoning was the proposition of historical tendency toward and away from equilibrium that doesn't like to take account of the rough, odd and contradictory evidences. Sayer offered a very different account of Marx's dialectical reasoning that made it seem somewhat less mechanistic, less teleological and perhaps even more genealogical. Although the problem of seeking internal relations without using enduring or universal categories is difficult, those categories themselves were seen as inter-related historical events and set as in need of as much investigation as anything else:

> Within an internal relations perspective drawing boundaries to concepts - particularly to general concepts - is evidently going to be a problem. The problem is compounded when, as was the case for Marx, the relations at issue were viewed in the process of constant formation and transformation. It is not resolvable by definitional fiat, because it arises out of the very nature of the reality Marx's concepts seek to define. Words must be `[slippery] like bats' if they are to grasp this complexity. From the stand-point of this philosophy, one which differs in fundamentals from the whole analytic tradition, to use concepts otherwise would be singularly unrigorous, since it would entail systematically distorting reality. Indeed, Marx in fact regarded concepts and categories as a facet of social reality itself, and hence saw definitions as necessarily real rather than nominal (Sayer, 1987:20).

Here Sayer is a conducting what might be loosely termed a *realist* defense of dialectical historical reasoning. A *realist*, in opposition to *empiricist* position is capable of seeing essential relations of `things' that would otherwise stand alone in quite arbitrary nominal existence. Sayer made the point that Marx, in a realist manner, used dialectical reasoning as a method of referring to what he saw as intrinsic to capitalism, `to use concepts otherwise would be singularly distorting reality'.

The inter-relations between categories were important, as opposed to historically transient manifestations of those categories. For example, the idea of social class is inadmissible in a strictly empiricist framework (apart from crude income or status categories) because one cannot see, taste or hear power relations that the term `class' presupposes. Here I am using the term `class' as an analytic rather than empirical category. Sayer comments:

> Marx so conspicuously failed in his writings to define class. He could not have done so, if a definition of the analytic philosophy sort is required - exclusive, unambiguous, closed and universal. For, quite simply, `class is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition'. (Marx, 1968: 11)

Similarly, Abrams (1980) argued against empiricist notions of class that relegated `it' to occupational, or income hierarchies that take status as a theoretical organising principle. In Stedman Jones' (1976) terms, this tendency in sociology represented a conservative preference for a `post-Marxism' that, along with Weber, refused to privilege class among other status orders. The crucial point for Abrams as well as Stedman Jones, was to rescue the dynamism of historical *relationships* that had been rendered static by selecting singular logics of class manifestation and potential.

A central problem of historical sociology has been to retain the incredible richness of historical narrative and at the same time to give to that narrative a coherence of structure that lends a degree of explanation beyond the ideographic whims of politicians and nobility. Allowing a reflexive interplay between agency and processes of structuring are of concern to historical sociologists such as Abrams whose quote appears at the beginning of this methodology section.

Some of the well worn tensions between structure and agency can bee seen in the project of an Historical Sociology that tries, with time as its overlord, to grasp what Abrams (1980: 12) referred to as a social `structuring'. It is true that people make their own history, but is also true that they do so under definite circumstances and conditions;

> we act through a world of rules that our action makes, breaks and renews - we are creatures of - we are creatures of the rules, the rules are our own creations; we make our own world - the world confronts us as an implacable order of social facts set over against us. The variations on the theme are innumerable; and the failures of the human sciences to work the theme to a satisfactory conclusion are inscribed on page after page of their literature. The estranged symbiosis of action and structure is both a commonplace of everyday life and the persistent fulcrum of social analysis (Abrams, 1980: 8).

Historical sociology has sought to bridge or perhaps discard a gap created by the assertion that `history is concerned with the particular and social science with the general' (Clubb, 1981: 606). One British historian called this kind of fracture a `dialogue of the deaf' Burke (1980: 13). The claim about sociology's propensity to *over-generalise* is perhaps more at stake here. Althusserian structural Marxism, for example, disavowed a genealogical methodology in favour of a `wholesale denial of history' (Zaret, 1978: 114).

The problem for the traditional historian about sociological enterprise is the overlaying of history with theoretical concepts and devices that did not come from history itself. Such critiques seem valid of sociologists approaches to the `uses' of history as a datum for generalising practice, evident in protagonists of a `scientific' evolutionary historiography such as Barnes (1948) and Lipset (1968). **Verstehn** was sociology's early answer, and the **ideal type** a sort of device which would render verstehn within a comprehensible sociological project.

Stedman Jones (1976) argued (and I agree whole-heartedly) that historians inevitably engage in a sort of sociological project. Historians don't study history, they make it. Further, the synthetic project is an inherently theoretical one. That is, history is not a mere terrain that would entertain thousands of historians in the complete mapping thereof. History is not a story of what happened. Rather history is a project of historians' imaginations. `History' is not synonymous with `the past' because:

> the historian investigates or reconstructs not the past, but the residues of the past which have survived into the present. The proper evaluation and use of these residues in order to make historical statements are technical skills of the historian. Secondly, and more important, the work of the historian is an active intellectual exercise which designates which of these residues possess historical significance and what significance they possess (Stedman Jones: 1976: 296).

The historian is not merely a passive observer looking back into the past via a telescope in the form of documents. Rather, history is actively **made** by historians. History `always implies the synthesis of phenomena' (Hobsbawm, 1981: 639). **Their** problems become the problems of history. Those problems are inherently caught up in a logic of causation and is therefore a thoroughly theoretical enterprise.

Foucault's genealogical method takes this theoretical enterprise to be more than an obscuring or blurring of history/sociology enterprise. The theoretical enterprise itself is a problem for Foucault. What some historians take as a methodological problem to be dealt with through rigour, Foucault takes as a central historical concern. The construction of true/false knowledge and the mechanisms of bringing that about, are what Foucault takes as the grist for his intellectual mill. Rather than the history of an object, such as the history of loafing might examine the psychology of people identified as loafers, Foucault would study what came to define the psychology of loafers as a psychology of loafers, connect that to power relations between people involved in particular practices such as work testing. Foucault would probably have agreed with Stedman Jone's argument about historians being engaged in a project of history making. In place of a history of objects taken as given, Foucault would investigate `the history of the "objectification" of those elements which historians consider as objectively given' (Foucault, 1981: 13-14). It is no wonder that Foucault's work has been said to `irritate historians' (Wickham 1990: 41).

Such a genealogical approach to history is well illustrated by Asygul Baykan in her (1990: 139) negative discussion of empiricist history of women and the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation state:

> The past, tradition, religious beliefs, and cultural practices are all imposed as fixed and formalised. In this context, the idea of a woman and her role in the society is articulated in reference to this past. The rate of participation in the work force, average levels of education and income and civil rights are some of the indices used to analyse the relative position of women in a given society. By assigning a score to these indices sociologists place the society somewhere between the polar opposites of traditional and modern'

The point is made that a certain teleology is invoked with constructing a past in terms of categories of experience such as `labour force participation' and `civil rights' as if these were things that there could be more or less of, and that more or lessness actually meant something. When historians have looked at the `development' of unemployment benefit systems, they have been concerned to point to a similarly invariant **elements** such as propensity to `stigmatise' claimants. The problem with this approach, as Bayakan suggests, is that it takes stigmatisation as a given. That is, there will **always** be more or less of it and that it can be characterised diachronically in the same way. The problem itself is brought into a **universal frame of reference** that denies the possibility that particular historically situated events can speak their own terms. This universalisation of the kinds of things that will count as historically meaningful events, literally collapses history in a synchronous dialogue with a past that is given substance only in terms of meanings that are relevant to a present.

There are two issues to be dealt with here. The first is in relation to **method of explanation** and the second is in relation to conception of power. The two are intertwined. Sayer's defense of historical materialism on realist grounds provides direct access to a discussion of the object of inquiry as well as the method of argument adopted by the present study. Relations of power **are** what make categories different from each other. **Things** stand in relation to other things **as things** because of a particular method of ontological arrangement. That ontological arrangement, that structuring of categories, **is** power. This does not deny the existence of simple coercive power that occurs for example between billiard balls, but merely specifies an alternative. Sayer's discussion of Marx above might be reiterated here. In terms of the empirical historicity of `modernity', the thing modernity can only be understood as existing at all if we take into account a unobservable phenomena, namely the abstraction of `individual', `state' and `civil' society as discrete entities.

If dialectical argument can be placed in this context, then the dialectic itself loses it's universal character and takes on a grounded empirical shape. In other words, dialectical reasoning was appropriate because it was **archetypically** dialectical phenomena that needed addressing. In this way, categorisation processes that go to make up modernity, as an historically empirical `event', and taken from Marx's analysis, need not be concerned to eschew a teleology it did not necessarily possess in the first place. In fact, Sayer's argument makes historical materialism as an analytical method look a lot like the genealogical approach to history discussed above. The present **needs** to be seen as a strange place just as much as the past cannot help but to **be** a strange place. The present and meanings contained within it, **are** problems in need of addressing through a process of deciphering.

The categories that make the present a reality are `problematized'. Richard Marsden (1992b: 24) argues that Foucault's idea of `problematization' refers to the putting under examination of the methods of how objects are `practically and conceptually constituted.' In other words the question is asked: how is it that these categories through which events are made intelligible, came to be meaningful categories? Sayer's realist and Foucault's genealogical approaches to history provide the present study with a way to approach historical transformations in the social construction of the unemployed subject.

A strict Foucaultian genealogical approach to the present topic would, on the surface, appear to preclude usage of Habermas's and Offe's theories of welfare state crises as ordering devices. These could be seen as `meta-narratives' imposing a logic of transformation that is not necessarily given in interpretation of historical events. However, a deep suspicion of meta-narratives should not preclude use of heuristic devices. In fact, the present study was initially written without much reference to Habermas's and Offe's framework beyond recollection of a dim past in a graduate theory course. However, upon reviewing drafts that appeared in their raw form without explicit reference to Habermas' and Offe's framework, it quickly became evident that much of what they had developed was inscribed in the original text.

The problem still remained. Should a framework with an inherently evolutionary ring to it, be used in conjunction with a methodological approach that explicitly denies the relevance of the theoretical project within which it is placed? The uneasy answer arrived at was `yes, sort of.' It will be taken that a genealogical approach is capable of producing a text that may align with more explicitly theoretical enterprise, but not necessarily originate in it. That is to say, the present project did not begin with Habermas' and Offe's framework and then seek to test it. However, the use of dialectic (immanent negation and reformation) reasoning applied to the field of investigation provides a reasonable heuristic device to more clearly illustrate historical transformations.

End Notes

1. This is represented in the work of `human capital' theorists such as Becker (1964), Blaug (1976), Thurow (1970).

2. Segmentation theorists include Alhauser and Kalleberg (1981), Demekas (1988), Doeringer and Piore (1975), Gordon, Edwards and Reich (1982).

3. The term `commodification' is used here to refer to the process whereby social relationships are mediated by money and material objects. This concept is expanded later in this chapter(2).

4. Sayer argued that Marx wrote about a male working class. The abstraction of civil identity involved with state formation was limited to men prior to extension of the vote to women. He (1987) goes on to argue that this formulation of the historical process of abstraction of **individuals** is an archetypical one. The definitely uneven, interrupted and incomplete empirical topography of events belies any notion that this process of individuation was absolute. For example, women and indigenous peoples in New World Countries continue to struggle for their emancipation **into** this juridco-legal subjectivity. The critical point however, is that state formation involved the automatic construction of formal relations.

5. Corrigan and Sayer's (1985) **The Great Arch** develops an historical account of English state formation following Abrams' conception of state power. They discussed ways in which the English state had developed to secure its legitimacy as a ruling power and the potency that legitimacy had in `naturalizing' some interests and obscuring others.

6. An example of a fictitious work test situation may help to make the point clearer. When doing work testing of a benefit meant specifically to relieve poverty caused by joblessness, administrators must ask the question: `does this benefit applicant really want to work?' If the answer is `yes' then faultless joblessness has been established and a benefit will be given to the applicant. If the answer is `no' then the applicant or recipient will be denied a benefit. When arriving at an answer, notions of `ideal' workers must be referred to. For example, if an applicant expresses the opinion that they are not willing to travel more than five kilometres to work, an administrator must decide whether this person should be expected to travel more than five kilometres. Would **somebody** really wanting to work, travel more than five kilometres to do so? The **somebody** conjured up in this decision process is an abstraction of ideas of what workers **should** be like. In other words, the **somebody** used to compare with the person standing or sitting in front of the administrator is an abstract individual, not a concrete one, rather, a generalized version of the idea `worker.' Of course these generalized workers are fragmented enough to deal with admissible variations in real people, fragmentable along lines such as such as occupation, age and sex, as well as variation in labour market opportunities such as availability of related work.

Although this example is overly simplistic, it serves to draw out the idea that work testing necessarily involves the construction of abstract individuals. This process could be carried out with or without the help of governments. Nineteenth century `benevolenteers' in Australia could and did make such judgements about people asking them for food or money. The relevance of Abrams', Sayer's, Corrigan's and Denis' formulation about the state as an idea, has to do with the effect that the process of making a generalized worker for comparison to a real benefit applicant, had as a method of pursuing some interests at the expense of others.

7. For example, in a radical sense, this **power** in modernity tends to exclude family life from civil life at work, as family life is private intimacy, and is supposedly unrelated to public fraternal and non-intimate relationships.

8. The term `historical materialism' refers to a methodological approach to explaining history with reference to needs of material production.

9. See Dalton (1968) for a collection of Polanyi's essays including "The Place of Economies in Societies" and "Our Obsolete Market Mentality."

10. Some Marxist and feminist critiques of Foucault object to this refusal to `ground' the idea of power in an a particularly constituted critique of gendered or classed subjectivity. Foucault does not allow for a utopia within which rational resistance might find a trajectory. In other words, if power is everywhere, and inescapable then what right does anyone have to say to anyone else `this is the way things should be like'? In a sense, Foucault's idea of inescapably `ungrounded' and diffused power might even be called conservative by disallowing the possibility of a grounded normative critique. This dissertation does not take issue with these critiques. Foucault's conception of power and subjectivity is being used as a method of approaching disciplinary practices. The position is taken here that refusal to ground subjectivity as **necessarily** gendered, classed or structured by race allows Foucault's critical method to be applied to gender, class and/or race issues.

11. The spelling of the title **Disciplin and Punish** was taken from the original text.

12. With the exception of that in some Scandinavian countries

13. Figure 2.4 sets out crisis tendencies and proposed explanations in short form.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts seeks to chart relations of power that operate through particular institutional techniques and events. The method of analysis adopted, as well as materials utilised in the text, attempts to capture a broad array of events and social relations surrounding them. The study has an institutional focus of sorts. That is, work test practices carried out by actors located in several organisations over a long period of time are central to the analysis. However, it was necessary to go beyond these particular organisations to accessible locations wherein resistances to organisational practices were found.

The `unit of analysis' is the configuration of social relations described in chapter 1 as `disciplinary regimes' and includes resistances as an integral part of the power relations studied. An historical approach to analysis of `loafers' and `dole bludgers' must `problematize' the postwar category of `dole bludgers' in a way that demands diachronic and synchronic empirical investigation of the kinds of social relations constituting and constituted by `loafers' and `dole bludgers'.

The classical idea of modernity fits here as an empirical terrain within which to place investigation of the event of `state' supplied unemployment benefits, being roughly the middle chronological point of the empirical study. Conceptualizing the `state' as a social place within which `dole bludgers' are made possible required placing the development of particular notions of what the `state' is, as central to the present project. In fact it is crucial for the development of the thesis that `the state' is thought of broadly as an historically contingent conception of ordered social relationships that have juridico-legal form. Discourse at policy development levels, as well as lower administrative levels, comprised primary sources for construction of problems of idleness and characterisations of unemployed subjects. Resistances were located in various organised forms surrounding key administrative moments. Description of techniques was taken from a variety of mostly primary and some secondary sources. Methods of handling various document types are discussed here first in broad terms and then in detail.

Logics of Document Usage

> The historian cannot reassure himself that he knows all that there was to be known about a society. Neither can he be sure that documents and utterances were not intended to deceive; that they were not left as a form of joke, decoy or disguise. Further the problematic character of the historical imagination does tend to limit the scope of interpretation, induction and questioning. Not knowing what he does not know, the historian is armed only with partial perspectives and uncertainly defined fragments. (Rock, 1976: 357)

Source document types used for the bulk of this study were the standard fare of historical research: Annual reports; government archives; newspaper articles; correspondence files; original books, pamphlets and articles; Hansard; and Parliamentary Papers. In addition to these, some non-standard sources included television and radio show transcriptions obtained from the Parliamentary Library in Canberra. Secondary sources were also valuable in providing material for the narrative and also in pointing the way to appropriate primary sources. These document types in addition to Department of Social Services/Security procedure manuals were obvious sources prior to the commencement of the research. Selection of particular documents and their uses were another matter.

> The problem of evidence is one of access in practice, not one of availability in principle. (Abrams, 1982: 149)

Document collection was limited in scope to what could be accomplished between June 15th, 1991 and March 31st, 1992. In that time, access to documents, ascertainment of relevance and assessment of adequacy had to be gained. As a quantitative survey is often limited by its sample size, often determined by available resources, so too, this study was limited by what could be acquired in ten months.

An historical study without this constraint would not need to have a `document collection period' as such. `The field' would ideally be accessible to enable an ongoing reflexivity between historical interpretation and necessary `data'. The study did not have the luxury of following all leads until they were exhausted. Rather, document collection was juggled with interpretation, often by the soft green light of a photocopy machine. This juggling act was compounded by the fact of uncertain and time consuming access to non-archived government document sources[1], and the 3 months necessary for construction of the initial or `skeleton' post-war chronography.

Prior to examining documents relating to events and procedures under discussion those events and procedures had to have been selected. Selection of `relevant' events and procedures was, in the present case, somewhat limited by the time frame within which document collection was constrained. More will be discussed on this point under relevant sub-sections dealing with particular analytical foci. Methods of considering events and procedures as relevant are discussed below.

It is not necessary here to provide a day by day record of how when and where documents were acquired.[2] However, it is necessary to address procedures of document collection and examination in terms of the ways in which they were used in the present study. `Things' that counted as `data' in the final written version of a study such as this must contribute to:

1. description of events and procedures (description);
2. understanding of an author's perspective (voice);
3. location of events, procedures and perspectives in political and economic contexts (context).

Primary and secondary documentary sources were selected and used for three purposes. The first was to establish a semblance of an event as something that could be neutrally described. For example, post-war work test techniques **as events** were initially constructed from Department of Social Security Procedure Manuals. These Manuals described, in varying levels of detail, procedures to be followed by Department of Social Security and Commonwealth Employment Service personnel, in undertaking work testing. The manuals described the structure of work test activity at particular points in time.

Secondly, documents were used to establish a structured social relationship implied or given in the author's interpretation (voice) of an event as a located actor in a discursive configuration. For example, Departmental correspondence files were used (up to the point where their availability ceased due to government imposed restrictions on access) to gain some understanding of how administering officers felt about their work test duties and how they thought of or constituted claimants' identities `discovered' through their work test duties. Resistance to identities constituted in work test practices were addressed by examining the discussion of those practices contained in documents produced by political dissidents such as: unemployed workers' union members, politicians from leading policy making parties and their official opposition, non-government welfare sector workers, trade union leaders and, in later periods, government personnel dissenting from the government policy of the time.

Thirdly, events, procedures and articulations of situated social actors needed to be placed in relevant political and economic contexts. Whatever constitutes `relevant' contextual material is eminently open for debate. In the present case, broad ideological trajectories of the two leading political parties (the Liberal party was a coalition of conservative parties prior to 1945) as well as major trade union imperatives were taken as political context and generally discovered in Hansard, News releases, newspaper articles, published tracts and the secondary literature. Political `perspectives' are difficult beasts to deal with at the best of times. To be dealt with thoroughly, they need complete attention in their own right. In the present case this was compounded by an attempt to treat political perspectives, constraints and shifts in power relations as part of the process of organisation of identities of the `unemployed'. This required a constant effort to link organisational practices pursued by administering personnel with policy intentions delivered in statements made by relevant ministers. The problem this produces is a constant tension between treating political agendas as an integral part of the disciplinary process, as well as a bed-rock or background context within which disciplinary practices occurred.

The necessity of treating disciplinary events and procedures as imbedded in economic events and processes provided similar problems. The aforementioned tension was intensified with a basic argument of the thesis that `economic' identities of people are accomplished in work test practices. Thus attempts at articulating `who' were the unemployed, runs into the problem that construction of `who' the unemployed were is part of a process of cultural formation which takes `economic' concepts as neutral templates of description. It is asserted throughout the thesis that these templates are definitely not neutral, but are constitutive of the way people understand each other. Thus, when references are made to unemployment rates, it should be kept in mind that these references are made uneasily because the very categories that are utilised to make up those statistics are part and parcel of the disciplinary processes under review. Other economic indicators are largely, though not completely absent from analysis. It is necessary to refer to Labour Force Trends in order to support the argument that work test practice, or at least policy, has aimed to have labour force effects. Notwithstanding these difficulties, contradictions, and limitations, the point is made that document selection and evaluation was a logical and theoretical as well as an empirical process.

Scott (1990: 19) neatly summarised critical tasks that must be addressed when assessing the value of an historical document.[3] These are assessments of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Assessment of authenticity involves authentication of authorship (did the supposed author really write the document?) and checking for the document's soundness (is this an original document, a copy or a copy from a copy?). Authenticity was always quickly established in the present study. The process of file archiving in relation to government correspondence and issues files guarantees that authentic documents are retrieved in files recalled for viewing from Australian Archive Offices. The same applies to documents retrieved from non-archived government department sources as well as correspondence files retrieved and copied from various union sources. Hansard is an authentic record of parliamentary debate. Annual reports were viewed in their original form and were obtained from either bound volumes of parliamentary papers or from departmental libraries. Research reports were copied from those contained in relevant private library collections. Transcriptions of television and radio shows were of minor concern in relation to their `soundness', however, these were taken from the parliamentary library wherein a small team does little but transcribe television and radio shows. These were taken at face value as authentic records.

Of greater concern were issues of credibility and representativeness. Different questions in relation to these issues were asked of documents according to use in description, voice or context. The quote heading this section contained much of dilemmas requiring decisions to be made at numerous points throughout the research. The following represents a brief summary of questions that were asked of documents and decisions taken on them.

In relation to the issue of **credibility**, distortion of information and sincerity of representations were addressed in several ways. Use of materials in a descriptive manner needed to satisfy the question `was the author in a position to know about events or procedures described?' In most cases where original materials were addressed, the authors were often the only ones located able to describe the events in detail. One notable exception was in relation to a paper delivered by a second party to a Charity Organisation Society conference held in Melbourne in 1892. The paper was used to describe procedures adopted to work test applicants to a Labour House operating in Sydney at that time. The Author was presenting the paper on behalf of

Reverend Jackson, the proprietor of the Labour House, in his absence. It is not known whether Jackson's original text was used or if the speaker's text as a summarised version of Jackson's original was included in the conference papers.

Materials used in a manner to obtain `voice' were interrogated specifically to answer the credibility question of `in what ways might an author's position be reflected in the document'. The kind of `view' expressed by the particularly located social actor was the logical reason for addressing much of the material used in the dissertation. Peter Laslett (1976: 319) used the metaphor of a telescope to illustrate the point:

> When William Shakespeare looked out upon his social world in the 1590s or the 1600s he perceived an enormous and immensely varied social landscape. His viewing instrument, his telescope to be more exactly metaphorical, gave him great perceptive depth. But we cannot get at the eyepiece Shakespeare used; we have, so to speak, to look through the orifice instead. What we perceive is not what Shakespeare saw, but Shakespeare's eye. Or rather that which Shakespeare chose to let us see of all that entered there.

Sam Rosa (1890), a late nineteenth century socialist, wrote a detailed account of several street marches in Melbourne in 1890. In most respects, it was not necessary to inquire whether or not Rosa had seen everything that went on. The more important question was `how did he interpret what he saw?'

A good deal of the material used in the present study was expressly sought to ask this question. For example, Joseph Creer's annual reports of the New South Wales Labour Bureau were examined to find out something of the categories used by the head administrator of a 4 person organisation, to refer to Bureau applicants. This interrogation was the central part of the research process and enabled establishment of disciplinary **position**. Embellishments and omissions were taken as part of the research project itself. Creer's statements in annual reports are a case in point. Creer's organisation was subjected to a commission of inquiry in 1893. Through testimony given by witnesses to the inquiry, it was possible to highlight Creer's proclivity toward embellishing self-importance and down-playing negative interpretations of his activities. This was taken as an important insight into Creer's patriarchal consideration of his duties, and the way he administered his organisation, more as a benevolent society than as a `state' institution with `rights' of access guaranteed to citizens.

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Materials used in a manner to obtain `context' were mostly secondary in character. Credibility of authorship was addressed by referring to second or third sources. For example, there is a substantial literature covering the Whitlam years in office and the social democracy underlying Whitlam's reforms between 1972 and 1975. Little difficulty was encountered in establishing basic parameters (though most of these were described in vague terms of freedom and equity) of political agendas such as Whitlam's. In terms of economic statistics such as labour force data and industry trends, these were generally taken at face value.

Perhaps the most serious issue was that of representativeness. This was a consistent problem encountered throughout the study and is referred to below in detail at the point where specific document collection procedures are discussed. However, some key issues will be dealt with here. Central questions of representativeness included:

1. Were work test practices encountered and discussed in the 1890's and 1930's representative of work test practices carried on during those periods?

The diversity of work test practices in the 1890's was both a source of concern and a focus of the narrative. Diversity represented experimentation and a lack of centralised decision making typical of benevolent practice at the time. However, it was only possible to address practices done by a few organisations in Sydney and Melbourne. Practices in all the Australian Colonies and States could not have been adequately covered without a substantial extension of resources. This must stand as a limitation to the study. However, it is not considered a serious limitation. Of the little mention made of work test practices in the 1890's contained in the secondary literature, none was found that indicated practices different to the ones mentioned in this dissertation, for the purposes of representing social relationships established. There may well be practices that were missed in literature surveys, but it is doubtful whether those practices diverged substantially from those referred to here.

The 1930's was a period which also contained highly fragmented work test practice. However, the problem was considered less acute due to the quantity of secondary sources available on welfare practices carried out then. Comprehensive and detailed studies are yet to be done on Bureau practices in various states during the Great Depression, however, it was only necessary to briefly cover this period as practices did not seem to vary markedly from the late nineteenth century, and critical changes occurred in the post war period to somewhat eclipse what was done during the depression. The value of the Great Depression to the present study was as a watershed for things to come. This does not mean that an attempt was not made to examine Great Depression materials in their own terms, rather that such an examination was interpreted in the terms presented here.

2. Did internal Department of Social Security and Commonwealth Employment Service files viewed, covering the period 1945 onwards, contain documents that would give a **representative** picture of **ranges** of `voices' and issues expressed and encountered by administering officials?

This is, unfortunately, impossible to answer in the affirmative with any degree of confidence. However, several checks were made at various points to look for patently wrong conclusions. From the early 1970's onwards, work test practice came under such increasing public scrutiny that newspaper articles directly referred to departmental practices and experiences on both sides of the counter. Further, there were several public commissions of inquiry during the late seventies that bore relevance to material gleaned from the files. During the period between 1945 and 1971, controversy surrounding work test practice was so minimal, it was doubted that key issues or divergences in `voice' were missed from the files viewed.

Alternative documentary sources for opinions expressed by departmental officers included staff news letters and transcripts of Administrative Review Tribunal cases. The advantage of the central office `work test' files over these sources was that once acquired, the files proved to be a relatively efficient means of accessing much of the information contained in other sources. Documents were considered relevant to the files addressed, because of their significance to issues of high organisational salience at the time. Staff news letters also contained letters to the editor and other articles written by staff members commenting on their work process. However, given the volume of such documents and the time available to locate and view them, a decision had to be taken to concentrate on one series to the virtual exclusion of others. This must also stand as a limitation of the study.

3. Were organised forms of resistance encountered in demonstrations, strikes and `action research', representative of all possible resistances?

This question touches on a key point made in the dissertation: namely, that organised resistances generally failed to displace the basic categories through which power relations were established. Organised forms of resistance to formation of identities of unemployed subjects were generally, with important exceptions, contained within rules of contestation that were formulated within the boundaries of discourse that constituted categories such as "dole bludger". The question then arises, were these really forms of resistance? The position was taken that ineffective forms of resistance are still forms of resistance in an unequal struggle. It remains open as to what other forms of resistance, perhaps not formally organised, may have been operating. Sources for examination of this issue might include oral histories, diaries and private collections of letters. It must be stated at this point that an excellent series of oral histories relating to the economic recession of the 1980's were recorded in 1986 and sit in the national library. Access to these histories is difficult. Not only must permission be granted from the author of the oral history, in order to use this source, but much of this material remains untranscribed. Non-organised personal resistances, both effective and non-effective, might better be addressed through a `location' study, such as Ray Pahl's (1984) work, **Divisions of Labour**, conducted on the Isle of Sheppy in England. An ideal location for such a study was found during the course of this research, but was impossible to pursue within the confines of time and resources available.

Details of Document Collection: Getting at Disciplinary Regimes: What was Done and Said, Who Did and Said it, How and When.

The task of delineating disciplinary regimes and specifying relations between them, involved two principal steps. The first was to locate significant changes in work test practice and the second was to establish articulated (connected) social relations surrounding them. Details of logical and empirical tasks involved with this project are discussed here.

Identifying Changes in Work Test Practice

The first task was to establish a comprehensive record of work test practice between 1945 and 1991 that represented the continuous activity of the Department of Social Security (DSS) and the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). After this was completed, to the extent possible given constraints discussed below, a series of dates and specific issues surrounding particular practices were established from which to move `sideways' (or diachronically) toward related sites of supports and resistances. Structures of disciplinary regimes were produced in this way.

Given that procedure manuals were and remain dynamic (in the sense that old procedures were discarded and new ones inserted), lineage of particular procedures had to be constructed from fragments of surviving manuals relating to particular periods. The problem was further compounded by the fact that the two administering organisations developed separate manuals for their respective roles in work test practices. The following describes how these problems were confronted and tackled.

Post War Procedure Manuals

Between 1945 and 1991 the document series containing operating instructions for Social Security Officers (referred to here as `the manual'), changed a good deal in both content and structure. The manual was re-written completely at approximately five year intervals beginning in 1945. The main reasons for the re-writes were integration of accumulated instruction additions and amendments issued from time to time from the head office in Melbourne and then Canberra. In addition, manual re-writes reorganized information to make the document easier to use.

The manuals were originally bound with a glued spine, which meant that most of the alterations to the text, proceeding from head office instructions, had to be made by hand. Old text was crossed out and new text was inserted directly on the original copy or with paper glued over the top of old text. The specimen of the 1945 manual used in the present study had some typed instructions glued directly over old text, but these were few.

From the first complete re-write of the manual in 1951 to the last re-write in 1991, manuals have been constructed in a loose-leaf format. The new loose leaf arrangement enabled officers to pull out the old instruction and insert the re-worded one with ease when a procedural change was issued from head office. This made the job of maintaining an up-to-date version of the manual a good deal simpler and less time consuming for officers. However, the fact that replaced instructions were literally tossed in a bin, made reconstruction of content and timing changes in operating procedures a very difficult process.

Many old and updated manuals were kept together on a set of shelves in the Manuals Production Unit of the Department of Social Security's Offices in Julianna House, Woden, ACT. Although this collection was incomplete, it was the best set available. The manuals were re-written in 1951, 1958, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1982, 1988 and 1991. The collection contained unaltered manuals for the years 1951, 1982, 1988 and 1991.

As noted above, the 1945 manual contained handwritten and pasted in typed procedure changes. These changes did not obscure the old text, so the original 1945 version was kept intact. Although a `clean' or original version of the 1951 manual had been kept, a copy of an updated version to the next re-write in 1958 was not available. The collection's copy of the 1958 re-write had been updated to 1965, but the original text was not preserved. Rather, updated text had been inserted and the old text discarded. The dates of new text were typed directly onto the inserts so it was possible to know exactly what the position was during 1965 and the precise time at which particular instructions, current in 1965, were changed from the original 1958 position. However, it was not possible to know from this manual about any changes to procedures that had preceded changes still current in 1965.

There was a complete re-write of the manual in 1966. However, neither a clean copy of the 1966 re-write, or an updated version could be located. The 1971 re-write contained much of the text from 1965. It was inferred from this that no change from those particular instructions was made during the period 1966-1971.

Hansard, newspaper reports and an invaluable set of files located in Australian Archives in Canberra (entitled "Work test" and spanning the period 1945-1974) were used to check for any important administrative changes not accounted for in the collection of procedure manuals. The head office files contained correspondence between various heads of the Department of Social Security and Regional Directors, heads of other Commonwealth Departments such as the Commonwealth Employment Service, and Federal Ministers of Social Security as well as Labour and National Service. Other materials included various forms used by officers administering Unemployment Benefits, correspondence from and to union representatives and other members of the public. Some cabinet submissions outlining rationales for particular work test policy changes were also contained in these files. This source provided a reasonable data base not only for reconstruction of pre-1971 instruction manuals, but also for political and economic contextualisation of those changes.

The period between 1971 through to 1991 was a busy time in the manuals. This reflected the massive growth in intensity of unemployment benefit regulations as a political issue. A version of the 1971 re-written manual containing updates to 1976 represented the most valuable part of the collection. Between 1971 and 1976, three of the most important work-test policy events took place. A Direct attack on "Hippie and Surfie types" was made late in 1971 (and recorded in procedure manuals). Provisions considered overtly offensive by Labor's Bill Hayden were removed and new instructions were inserted. Many of Margaret Guilfoyle's 1976 changes to the work test represented outright reversals of the Hayden amendments. In other words, the period contained two major re-directions of bureaucratic policy. In relation to work testing, the copies of the manuals held in the Julianna House collection flawlessly reflected the details of these critical changes. Together with departmental files from Australian Archives as well as newspaper articles written about work test and other events comprising unemployment policy during the period, a complete and detailed `picture' of procedural changes during the 1971-1976 period was re-constructed.

The structure of the manual was substantially changed at the 1976 re-write. Unfortunately, a `clean' copy of the 1976 re-written manual was not available. Although several volumes of the 1976-1982 manual updates were available, it was impossible to re-construct a clean 1976 version. This meant that it was very difficult to link old with new provisions. Some changes made to the `Work Test' section (known to exist from listings of central office instruction topics that were used as a check on the completeness of the updated series of manuals) could not be located in the updated manuals. Further these changes could not be located in central office files containing copies of procedural instructions sent out to officers for use prior to receipt of an officially altered manual sheet for insertion in the loose leaf binder. The reason given by officers in charge of the manual production unit for this state of affairs was that they were concerned with `producing and distributing new manuals, not producing documents for historians.' Simple carelessness was not the primary reason for the confused documentary trail during the period 1976-1982. The Department of Social Security moved its head office from Melbourne to Canberra. In the process, many documents including procedure manuals and their updates were destroyed or lost.

Like the period between 1971 and early 1976, the period 1976 to 1982 contained a good deal of work test policy alteration. Manuals relating to previous periods provided an opportunity (albeit a rough one) to literally paste one period's provision to the next so that a smooth and detailed line could be drawn about operating instructions. Because the 1976 re-write involved production of an entirely new manual format, which meant a re-shuffling and substantial expansion of instructions, it was not possible, in the time available at Julianna House, to copy these materials in order to reconstruct linkages between old and new manuals with precision. However, press coverage as well as scattered research pieces produced by members of the then critical welfare left provided adequate source material to fill major gaps in manual documentation.

Manuals and procedure updates produced in the period 1982-1991 have survived in a orderly series of documents contained in the Julianna House collection. These allow the reproduction of a complete `picture' of events during and immediately preceding the Hawke government's time in office.

The problem of concurrent document series existing in the department of Social Security and the Commonwealth Employment Office was dealt with by considering the DSS manuals as representative of both sets. A collection of CES manuals comparable to the DSS series did not exist. It may have been possible to canvas officers in state CES and local offices with an inquiry as to the whereabouts of old manuals. Many CES officers were encountered with an incredibly long organizational memory. Some officers kept old documents but procedure manuals were rarely among them. Collections of documents used by two recent internal historical studies of the CES were located. One of them (found in a `mystery' filing cabinet in a departmental library in Canberra and stumbled on accidentally by an interested librarian during one late Friday afternoon session) yielded two procedure manuals relating to the pre-1970 period. These combined with an updated 1954 manual held in one officer's shelves in the New South Wales State office confirmed that CES procedures were practically identical to DSS manuals.

Unfortunately the author was unable to perform the same check on later manuals and it is highly possible that a different tenor of emphasis was placed on instructions. This provided a difficulty that prevented the study from fully pursuing an important structural arrangement surrounding work test procedure. One of the most significant political `events' surrounding post-1976 work test procedure was a `ban' placed on work testing by members of the Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACOA), in 1979-1980. The campaign to ban work test practice was often referred to as `the meat in the sandwich'. Officers felt that their organisational roles of work testing and job placement were contradictory for a number of reasons. This event is discussed in some detail in chapter 9. Although DSS officers supported the ban, it was CES officers who felt the most pressure on their work process by post 1976 work test intensification. Had CES historical procedure manuals been available, it may have been possible to begin examining the issue of whether or not this long standing contradiction consistently manifest itself in the structure of official knowledge contained in CES as compared to DSS procedure manuals. We may have seen, for example, notation about how to handle difficult cases etc. To a certain extent, inter-organisational differences in perspectives toward unemployment benefit clients, flowing from divergence in principal organisation functions, is addressed in correspondence between department heads. However, a far richer, specifically organisationally focused, sociological study of work test practice is yet to be done.

Examination of post-war procedure manuals, when added to discussions of policy represented in the manuals and contained in political press releases and news articles, located around work test events, provided partial contours of the later two disciplinary regimes. Interpretations of resistances as well as further `fleshing out' of work test practices undertaken required access to several other series of documents discussed below under the sub-heading `Enactment of Post-War Procedure and Resistances'. Prior to this discussion, it is appropriate to trace critical steps involved in establishing Post-War events as distinct from pre-war events.

Pre-War Work Test Practices

The Commonwealth Employment Service was a new post-war organisation formed mainly by personnel from the war time Manpower Directorate and pre-war State labour bureaux. Tracing work test practices back prior to the war initially involved examining practices of State labour bureaux as far back as was possible. Given that there were several states operating separate labour bureaux, a decision was taken to concentrate on practices accomplished by the New South Wales State bureau. The New South Wales Bureau was the first one established in Australia in 1892. It therefore contained the longest lineage of work test practice. Further, as the researcher was located in Sydney, access to documents largely stored in the Michel Library and State Archives, was easier than for other states. As a check to see whether other states, particularly Victoria, varied greatly in their practices, labour bureau annual reports contained in Parliamentary Papers located in the National Library were addressed.

Given that welfare functions were primarily carried out by private organisations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was important to canvas practices accomplished by major benevolent institutions. Nineteenth century benevolent practices were well covered in the historical and sociological literature. Most of what was available was used to reconstruct work test practices as well as to develop a picture of benevolent thought at the time. The major primary source was two sets of late nineteenth century Charity Organisation Society conference papers contained in the National Library. The list of participants in the conference papers was a "who's who" of the benevolent scene at the time. New ideas were delivered and debated, as well as current practices reported on in summary form.

Early labour bureau and benevolent practices quickly showed a great deal of similarity between each other and distinction from postwar practices. Bourgeois reformist overtones were represented in exhortations of administrators on the purposes they presented their organisations as pursuing.

On the other hand, labour bureau practice represented a distinctly different disciplinary trajectory from that of private benevolent organisations and linked it, though only partially, to later work test forms. The idea of state participation in poverty relief was viewed, by those using the service, as at least supposed to have been of a different kind to benevolent practice. Petitions from groups of workers, sometimes very large groups of over a thousand, were found in Parliamentary Papers that contained complaint of the bureau's tendency to `pauperize' applicants in way that benevolent practice did. The point was that **state** practice was at least supposed to be different to benevolent practice. Labour bureau poverty relief was presented in the present study as an amalgam of older and newer forms. Labour bureau practice provided an institutional focus around which issues of `right' to benefit could be debated.

`Right to benefit' discourse is discussed in a distinct chapter of the dissertation. Shifts and changes in its emergence were seen as development of emergent legitimacy for postwar unemployment benefits, practices, and most importantly, interpretations of claimants constituted within them. Work test practices engaged in during the Great Depression stemmed more from late nineteenth century organisational forms and practices than from the `right to benefit' discourse. The `right to benefit' discourse occurred at a rather abstracted political level contained in research documents and limited parliamentary debate, as opposed to being embedded in administrative and popular discourse. Events of the Great Depression were more or less represented in this dissertation as a watershed of emergent ideas and economic pressures, rather than a distinct period in its own right. Bureau annual reports past about 1912 ceased to refer to applicants as "loafers pure and simple". There were no further indications located as to work test practice until the 1930's. Work test practices pursued during the Great Depression were mainly addressed through the secondary literature. Enough was gleaned from this to reconstruct basic parameters of social relations constituted in the main forms of unemployment relief which were organised through labour bureaux.

Early resistances were addressed through the writings of left wing activists at the time as well as secondary sources. Important possible sources of resistances, generally neglected throughout the entire study, were strategies pursued **between** relief applicants to prevent designation of work test failure. It is highly possible that applicants, particularly those located in inner city areas with tight social networks, could have coached each other through bureau interviews. Other strategies of resistance may have included refusal to apply for bureau relief and reliance on informal networks of friendship to pursue strategies of subsistence that may have included loans, sharing housing and food etc. `Larikinism' could also be interpreted as a form of resistance to `worker' discipline. These forms were not pursued in this study due to time limitations on the document collection phase. However such resistance practices would provide focus of an excellent study in its own right.

Enactment of Post-War Procedure and Resistances

Procedure manuals provided initial pointers to date ranges and administrative events. Once these date ranges and events were established, investigation turned to discourse (commentary) on work testing internal to the Department of Social Services/Security and the Commonwealth Employment Service. Two problems were encountered. Firstly, there was no single document series containing such commentary that would have provided a consistent source covering the entire period under study. Secondly, The sheer complexity of work test operations involved several levels of organisational personnel stretching from ministers and permanent department heads to `line' workers receiving application forms and performing interviews.

The study was considered viable six months prior to its commencement due to what was then presumed to be institutional sanction through affiliation with an internal DSS research branch as well as The Social Policy Research Centre in Sydney (a DSS funded semi-independent research body). However, it became obvious early in the study when DSS office space in Canberra had been denied (although offered on an earlier trip to Australia to set up an initial research agenda) that access to internal **historical** discourse would prove to be difficult. The only way to concentrate fully on lines of authority, detailed office procedure, as well as forms of impressions of clients held by various levels of officers responsible for work test practice in <u>two</u> massive government departments, would be to have relatively unrestricted access to classified archived and non-archived documents. The main problem was that the DSS had decided they did not want to be associated with a study they had no control over and providing office space would have made such an association. This fact alone made access to department documentation very difficult.

Although this situation represented a substantial set-back, there were several document series obtained with privacy of information clearance, as well as through Australian Archives located in Melbourne and Canberra, that continued head office documentation of work test issues that arose as salient from time to time. These documents represented the core source of internal departmental discourse. Unfortunately, due to the fragmented nature of the files obtainable, it was not possible to draw important distinctions between CES and DSS practices and discourses. The best that was available were inter-departmental correspondences at various times between department heads and intra-organisational correspondence between department heads and regional officers. Some allusion to differences in departmental positions was thus made possible as well as broad distinctions between the articulations of particular officers who were antagonistic or sympathetic to work test practice.

Resistances to work test practices were found in three major locations, primarily surrounding work testing in the 1970's. These were unemployed workers' movement organisations, the established welfare sector (primarily The Brotherhood of St Lawrence (BSL) and The Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS)) and The Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACOA)/ Public Service Union (PSU). Each of these locations engaged in resistances throughout the 1970's in different ways.

ACOA/PSU work test bans in 1979/80 represented development of an internal administrative resistance that became highly politicised. Details of events surrounding the development of the ban as well as protests mounted against the 1991 introduction of New Start and Job Search Allowance, were contained in ACOA/PSU files located and obtained from Sydney and Melbourne offices as well as Canberra's Archives of Business and Labour. An interview with David Bunn, a high ranking national union executive heavily involved in both protest events, filled gaps found in the files.

The Brotherhood of St Lawrence and ACOSS libraries held copies of published discussion papers produced by members of their respective organisations. Time was spent in these libraries pulling out materials related to work test issues. These documents formed a particular type of resistance through their "social scientific" critique of political statements about `dole bludgers' in the 1970's. Personnel and documents from these organisations were instrumental in erecting the pathologically unemployed subject as an alternative to the `dole bludger'. The role of this discourse and its authors in forming policy parameters in the late 1980's is discussed in chapters 8 and 9.

The Unemployed Workers' Movement (UWM) was the most colourful, if not the most significant, source of resistance to `dole bludger' discourse and work test practice in the 1970's. To begin with, the UWM is not a coherent political movement.

It is highly splintered geographically and ideologically. UWM organisations operated as autonomous entities in the cities in which they were located. Internal shifts and changes in ideological positions and affiliations with other organisations occurred with changes in personnel over time. Differences between groups ranged from the relatively centrist Coalition Against Poverty and Unemployment (CAPU) to the relatively anarchist Squatters Movement and affiliated UWM organisations. To be fair, some of these had greater longevity that others. CAPU had been running continuously since the mid 1970's under the leadership of Harry Van Moorst, employed as a Lecturer at a Melbourne University. Tasmania's Northern Unemployed Workers' Union located in Launceston had operated a similar length of time under its unemployed leader, Bill Bartlet. This organisation managed its continuity with financial aid in several forms including funds from the operation of a low cost health foods store. All were and remain very small collections of left wing activists. To be sure, their numbers are occasionally swelled with angry people who become unemployed, but these groups could not be said to be representative of an `unemployed' population. Given this finding, gained mostly through visiting groups and interviewing group members in Sydney, Melbourne and Launceston, their activities were seen as most significant in mobilizing demonstrations rather than in mobilising any sort of wide spread counter-hegemonic consciousness. Their demonstrations, some in direct protest at work test events, when combined with the other two major forms of resistance, provided a platform in which issues were dramatically highlighted. Newspaper articles and limited documents obtained from UWM offices provided source material for discussion of UWM activities. No comprehensive study of the Australian UWM (known to the author) has been undertaken. In the wake of the demise of the Australian Communist Party, such a study would make a valuable contribution both to the UWM itself and to the literature on left wing revolutionary politics.

Important forms of resistance not addressed included non-organised forms of behaviour that might even have been interpretable as `dole bludging' by a conservative observer. Networks of communication warning claimants of impending surveillance; coaching on how to successfully progress through the bureaucracy; survival strategies utilised to avoid unemployment benefits, could all be interpretable as resistances. Changes in these forms when seen in conjunction with changes in disciplinary practices would yield a far richer cultural study than was practicable in the present case.

Other sources used in the dissertation included: files from a trade union that ran a help centre for Melbourne's unemployed during the 1980's; documents from and a field visit to a semi-rural Skill Share project; hundreds of miscellaneous documents related to DSS and CES procedures collected from small libraries and private collections.

This section has traced the logic and footwork of the historical research undertaken. Much of this involved a detective like following of references and insights to the point where a coherent picture began to emerge. The path was straightforward in some (though few) places and broken and rocky in other (most) places. It is to the empirical terrain of `**Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts**' in Australia that we now turn.

End Notes

1. All government documents had to be `vetted' by a government official before the author was allowed to see them, which, in some cases took 6 months to complete

2. Further details of document collection are provided in the `Details of Document Collection' section of this chapter.

3. Scott's (1990) summary is typical of approaches taken generally in the historical methods literature. See for example Clark (1967), Elton (1967), Fling (1899, 1920) and Shafer (1974).

Chapter 4: `Bourgeois Benevolence' and Philanthropic Organization of Poverty Relief

Introduction

This chapter contains discussion of the `bourgeois benevolence' disciplinary regime. It is argued that nineteenth and early twentieth century work test practices established personal relations of dependence between middle class providers of poverty relief and recipients. Discipline enacted through work testing was aimed at `civilizing' applicants thought to be redeemable from the identity of "loafer" to that of "worker". Work testing was not a prevalent technique of distinguishing between real workers and loafers until the depression of the 1890's. Prior to the 1890's (with important exceptions) the concept of legitimate unemployment as joblessness by no fault of one's own and absolute dependence on wage labour was obscured by a rugged individualism that admitted women as legitimate recipients of poverty relief due to perceived threats to middle class conceptions of virtuosity.

Throughout the period under discussion `loafers' were considered to have an inherent moral disease that could be identified, isolated and treated with work testing. Several forms of private benevolence will be discussed along with government operated labour bureaux. The entry of the state into poverty relief and work test practice represented the beginning (though incomplete) of a new type of disciplinary effect. Discipline accomplished in the `bourgeois benevolence' disciplinary regime, enacted a relationship between `workers' and middle class benevolent providers. Individuals applying for benefit were disciplined directly by those giving them money, food and shelter. Those employed and looking upon work test failures could see themselves as different than loafers. When the state entered the poverty relief through labour bureau activity the disciplinary effect began to expand. With `the state' conceived as a thing representing a general social interest, the possibility for the notion of `right to benefit' emerged. Because workers were part of that general social interest, the possibility was admitted for (though remaining latent) workers to police themselves.

Early Discursive Eradication of Unemployment

Poverty relief in Australia during the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth was bound in a discourse circumscribed by Australia's colonial adolescence. There were no Parish legacies of reciprocity to lend legitimacy to establishment of poor relief by right. A rough hewn geographical environment constituted an ideal context for elaboration of emergent economic liberalism. Further, the precarious economic position of women provided inertia for a bourgeois benevolence organised for women attached to the army by matrimony, commerce and/or incarceration. These conditions engendered establishment of a discourse on poverty relief that effectively made male unemployment invisible. Emergent colonial liberalism established stubborn discursive conditions for ignorance of legitimate unemployment well into the late nineteenth century. Overt methods of making people responsible citizens, particularly by extension of right to government provided poverty relief, were explicitly rejected as self-defeating. The irresponsible minority of the emergent working class was best distinguished and suppressed by having to deal directly with a reforming middle class.

Working class men were either free ,immigrant, rugged individualists, about whom J. S. Mill wrote in 1848, `the affective desire of accumulation is strong' and all `who can possibly be born, can find employment without overstocking the market' (Mill, 1965: 65, 191-192) or were as Frederick Engels wrote: `unconcealed blaguards ... deported murderers, burglars, ravishers and pickpockets' (Mayer, 1964: 104). Arguably the latter were also of the independent sort but they were tainted with contagion of their essential baseness, eligible for relief on account of the apparent value to civil society their removal would deliver. No reformation for them, merely benevolent extermination. To do otherwise would invite accusation of the operation of a Poor Law. Women were similarly divided between the virtuous and the not so virtuous, but treated in a different manner.

Feminine virtuosity for the working class meant house bound dependence, either in service or in matrimony. Unmarried women, had to survive in a colony where they were sexually exploited and in the minority until well into the twentieth century. Forms of early benevolent organization were geared to a distinctly gendered colonial liberalism. Machismo of colonial opportunity obliterated male poverty. **Real** men would prefer to starve than seek charity. Women on the other hand had to have been nurtured from their propensity to weakness and succoured in a harsh environment.

Single and jobless women were drawn into institutions established in a discourse of propriety wherein categories of recipient were constituted in terms of virtuosity.

No Need or Desire For Work Houses

Dean's (1991) account of the discursive constitution of English Paupers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, proposed that emergent liberalism established an independent working class subject against which real people were thrust and bound in workhouses. The constituted working class soul could be reproduced by workhouses not merely within the bodies of inmates, but also within the bodies of community members living apart from work houses. Conditions of indoor relief were not merely unattractive, they represented incarceration, a distinctive `outside' of civil society, a location wherein civil society would be intensified. A disciplinary partitioning of souls was accomplished with brick and mortar. Boundaries of citizenship were established by overt discipline.

Early Australian citizenship did not need or want brick and mortar, it had the bush for free settlers, `ticket of leave' holders and emancipists[1]. A discourse of frontiersmanship ... limitless expansion and opportunity for the able bodied permeated knowledge of Australian poverty well into the late nineteenth century when it was idealized by poets such as Lawson and Paterson (Davison, 1978). The Colonial constructive process instigated geography as a terrain within which liberal civility would arise of its own accord without imposition of Poor rates. Immigration of both convicts and free settlers was controlled to a certain extent according to demand for labour in both rural and urban areas. There were instances when colonial governments were compelled to instigate relief works in response to demonstrations staged by jobless workers prior to the 1890's.[2] However, entrepreneurial vigour in a land of limitless opportunity was a duty and a prerequisite for full citizenship status in the new and largely male land (Evans, 1976: 75).

Work houses were not only unnecessary in such an environment but could stand as impediments to the constitution of a new society. The May 8, 1813 inaugural meeting of The New South Wales Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Benevolence in These Territories and Neighbouring Islands (soon to be renamed the New South Wales Benevolent Society), struck a resolution reflecting their colonial location:

> Notwithstanding the advantages of the Soil and Climate of this Colony [and] aided by the humanity of Government in providing Hospitals etc, still numerous instances of Distress out of the reach of that provision continually occur which it becomes the Benevolent to attempt to mitigate. [Minute Book of the New South Wales Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 8 May 1813, Quoted in Cage (1980: 157)]

Those not expected to actively participate in exploitation of Australia's abundant resources could be subsumed within the purvey of benevolent practice, entirely outdoors until Sydney's forthcoming Benevolent society developed plans for an Asylum established in 1821 (Curry 1962: 8). Figures of **rugged male individualists** and **endangered women**, provided bold fields within which early philanthropic efforts were constituted. There could be no male able bodied poverty. Women, however, were extended patriarchal benevolence. Their inherently dependent natures endangered them in a place where domestic service was not well enough developed to absorb female labour. Colonial treatment of women was not terribly `British.' The Reverend Samual Marsden observed with some distaste:

> Shortly after a ship has anchored in the Cove with Female Convicts, Settlers, Soldiers and Prisoners have been permitted to go on board, and make their respective Selections amongst them and induce these poor unfortunate women, some by threats and some by promises to accompany them to their habitations and to become their mistresses and to make room for them a former wife or mistress with their children are not unfrequently turned out into the street in the utmost want and distress. [Samual Marsden, 1807 `Essays: A few observations on the situation of Female Convicts in New South Wales', Quoted in Daniels and Murname (1980: 8)]

Peyser (1939a: 89-90) argued that the following extract from a letter written in 1797 addressed to the Duke of Portland from Governor Hunter, held in `a nut shell' needs, problems and remedies encountered by the colonial benevolent consciousness:

> The Vast number of women for whom we have very little work are a heavy weight upon the store of Government. If we estimate their merits by the charming children with which they have filled the colony they deserve our care; but it will become after the fathers withdrawn himself from the service of the public, his children are to continue a burden on the public store. I have informed several that when they quit the service of Government they must take their family with them. The military may have many children, and they are all fed and clothed at the public expense; the pay of a private soldier cannot maintain them, and I cannot see their infants in want.

Women and Children as unprotected dependents were legitimate objects of relief. Early nineteenth century Sydney sported institutions such as the "Female and Male Orphan's Schools"," The Female Friendly Society", "The Female Factory", "Sydney Female Refuge", dealing with orphans, the sick and the aged, female convicts and prostitutes (Windschuttle 1980: 57-58). Early institutionalized forms of Benevolence in Melbourne were similarly organized for categories of distress that bore obvious outward signs of innocence or innocence corrupted, particularly in women and children. These included The St James Dorcas "Orphan Asylum", the "Lying in Hospital" and the "Refuge for Fallen Women". These places were not merely way stations at which relief would be dispensed but were also engaged in maintenance of feminine virtue. Australia was a place where women were for a time imported by the boat-load to make up sex ratio deficiencies (Hammerton, 1975). Australia was a part of the world where virtue could easily be dissolved. The following extract from one of the early annual reports of the Refuge for Fallen women, documented by Greig (1936: 11), bears heavily the partitioning imbedded in the institution's title:

> From the commencement up to 31st December, 1865 there had been 198 inmates, 43 of whom are known to the Ladies Committee to be conducting themselves with propriety; and taking into account those who died in hospital, your committee have good grounds for hoping that, up to the present time, no less than 30 percent of those who are inmates have been rescued from a life of infamy.

Apart from femininity, physical illness also received succour. Cage (1980: 158-159) provides a list of recipients of relief as of May 29 1813 in Sydney. Of the 13 cases listed, 11 were chronically ill with ailments including being wounded in Egypt as a soldier, old, infirm helpless and deranged, abscess in the back, cancer, Scrofula, paralytic, sick and destitute. One was suffering a moral malady as she was administered the new Testament and one other was not classified. Tea, maize, bread, rent, and cloth were dispensed.

Work testing was unnecessary as only those obviously afflicted with a physical problem were to be granted alms. Common male beggars were admitted to the Asylum as inmates and collected wood for fuel, baked their own bread, cultivated vegetables, and made their own shoes, shirts, trousers and linen (Cage, 1980: 162-163). Economy however was the primary aim. Sydney's benevolent asylum was meant not so much for production of an independent soul as for the extirpation of `mendicity' from an otherwise vigorous society. Male beggars lacked qualities of independence required for colonial life. Pity as well as a desire to **remove from society** these carriers of `moral pestilence' motivated early benevolenteers, as recorded in official documents:

> The idea that the Benevolent Society is at all likely to produce a permanent poor rate, is a very mistaken one. There are no young healthy persons maintained in idleness ... [Common beggars] come to want and wretchedness through their own immoralities, and as far as they themselves deserve, are unworthy of the smallest consideration... But then, what are the consequences of the streets being infested by such a moral pestilence? The young are as well injured by their evil example, as they are seduced; and servants corrupted (Cage, 1980: 155).

Apparently regimentation exacted on inmates was such that admission to the Asylum was considered akin to being imprisoned. Curiously enough, the benevolent society thought it wise to build walls around their institutions to prevent inmates from taking flight:

> It will be seen how great is the unwillingness of many of the inmates to submit to the restraints of the asylum, if they were encouraged to leave it. Many would no doubt prefer the precarious life of a vagrant for the sake of liberty, to the secular and orderly habits of the asylum [From the Benevolent Society's 1831 Annual Report , Quoted in (Cage, 1980:167)]

Terms of cultural citizenship included conformity with a benevolent class's definitions of propriety for women, parental attachment for children and independent engagement in productive enterprise for men. According to Elizabeth Windschuttle, much of this was directly imported from Britain. Names of organizations as well as intellectual roots stemmed straight back to London and its environs, providing `some evidence of the derivative nature of colonial society' (Windschuttle 1980: 56). However, a complete transplantation of benevolence discourse never occurred. Although `self-consciously European' (Denoon, 1978: 512), they were after all in Australia and it was somewhat different from Britain in that `there was no example of a successful transplantation of the British pattern of social and political relationships' (Bolton, 1968: 316). New South Wales' legacy of receiving convicts undoubtedly contributed highly to the discursive impossibility of legitimate joblessness. Coghlan (1969: 196-199) writes of how emancipists were snubbed by free settlers even though they too, in several instances had obtained wealth. A poor emancipate was more likely to be jobless due to bad character than a poor free settler. Even though the percentage of convicts to the total colonial population had declined from 71.1 in 1788 to 5.8 in 1846 (See Figure 4. 1), fears persisted of the contagion their presence would bring. In 1849 the New South Wales Government passed a Vagrants Act (Disallowed by Earl Grey the Colonial Secretary) `which required under penalty of imprisonment, the registration of the names and places of abode of all freed convicts from Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island' (Coghlan 1969: 357).

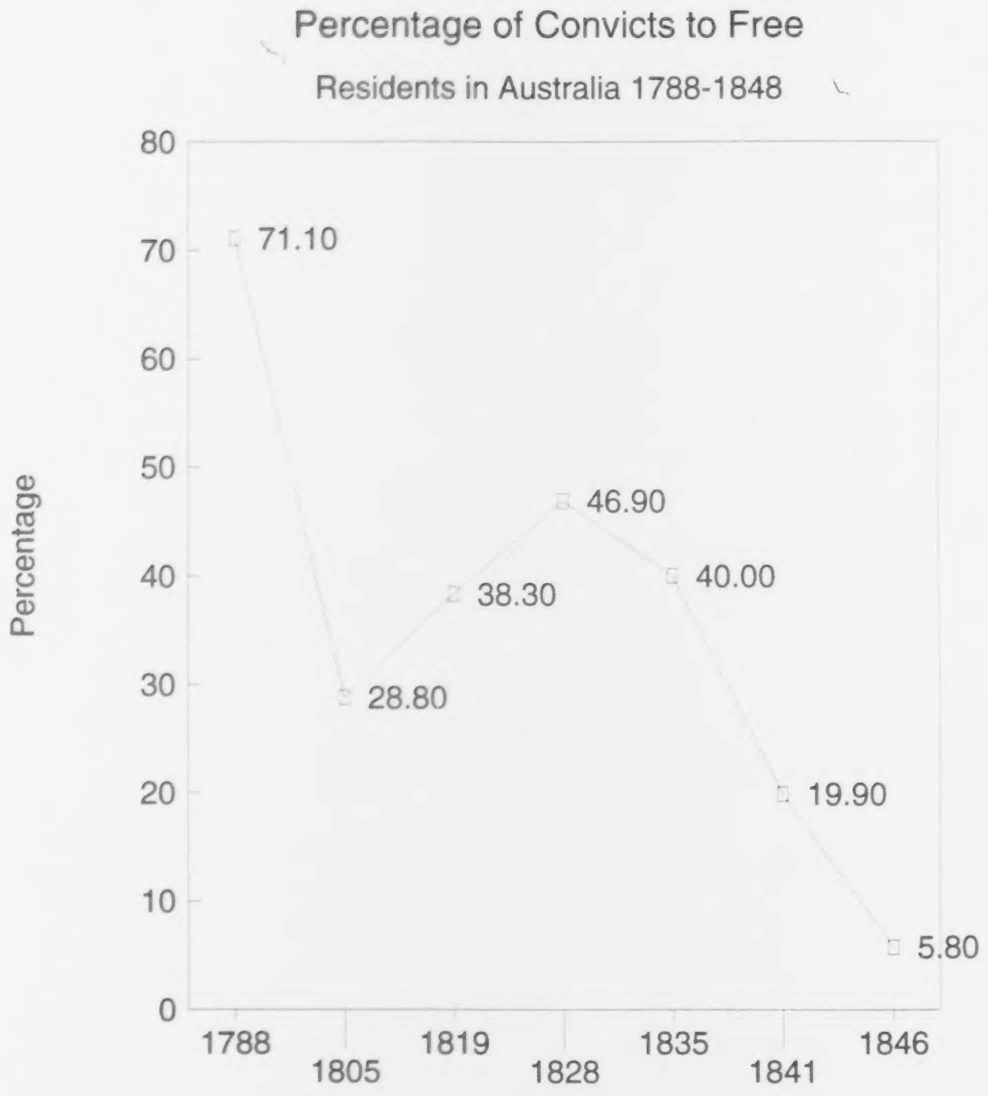
Settled British Australians had, by the middle of the Century, an opportunity to learn from the upheaval of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe as well as their convict heritage, that a better society could be built. A phrase from a letter from the N. S. W. Colonial Secretary appointing a Board for Public Charities in 1855, captures the sense of opportunity for elimination of the space within which pauperism might develop:

> It should not be lost sight of that institutions of this kind (the Benevolent Asylum) are evidences of an unwholesome state of society, and that every means should be taken to do away with the state of things which renders such an institution necessary. (Peyser, 1939b)

Kennedy (1985: 12-15) cites several instances of commentary spanning at least 50 years prior to the depression of the 1890's where the `Myth of Marvellous Melbourne' encountered beggars riding in cabs, poor asylums like Buckingham Palace and workmen who seldom wore thread bare clothing. Colonial liberal discourse vaunted independence of spirit. Forms of poverty seen as evidence of moral vacuum could not be tolerated. Poverty was discursively eradicated, the practical triumph of liberalism vindicated, the worst of England's effects of industrial excesses unreplicated, poverty denied.

The chance to dispense with history was an opportunity not to be squandered. Sammual Mullen remarked with slight cynicism in his 1888 short story of a fictional Russian

Figure 4. 1



Modified from Butlin (1986: 101)

invasion of Victoria:

> An impression had long been gaining ground among us that we too had "done with history." The true conception of the Australian People as the offshoot of an old civilization, heirs to whatever good or evil it had to bequeath, gradually receded before the false notion that we were a young nation starting on a unique career, for whom the traditions of the past could have no interest whatever. (Mullen, 1888: 10)

Certainly there were no legislatively demanded institutions wherein entry could be gained so long as an applicant fulfilled certain categorically constituted characteristics. The notion of poverty relief by **right** was abhorred even by the Australian working class because `it symbolized the endemic misery and oppression of the poor in the Old Country." It was abhored by the enlightened bourgeoisie because poor rates to support administration would interfere with acquisitive efficiency (Kennedy, 1985: 26).

Although relief by right was abhorred, New South Wales had passed a Work House Bill in 1866[3] designed to incarcerate `convicted vagrants, habitual drunkards, and irreclaimable disorderly persons': `Domain Loafers' (Dickey 1966: 16). These were probably, for the most part, unemployed miners from spent gold fields trying to establish themselves in the city. They were not `Pauperized' as such. Outdoor relief given to them was considered merely a waste of resources. However, as objects of relief they were constituted as subjects bearing a similar `contagion' to `common beggars' of the early Benevolent Society days. Residence in this work house would have been a stronger symbol of personal failure than receipt of private benevolence.

T. H. Kewley stated that relief for able bodied men `formed no part of the Charitable relief system' of the nineteenth century until the depression of the 1890's (Kewley 1947: 202-203). Although this is roughly the position adopted here, it should be noted that drawing generalizations about poverty relief in the nineteenth century is a risky business. Pockets of action contradicting Kewley's assertion may be found in several of the colonies. Not only was legitimate poverty caused by joblessness occasionally recognised, but government sponsored and administered programs of poverty relief were often constructed in response. For example, as early as 1841, South Australian Government relief works were instituted alongside of the more common asylums for women, the aged and the sick. Relief works were work tested. The Governor of South Australia, George Grey, was reminded by The English Secretary of

State Lord Stanley that although it was accepted that relief works could be undertaken by the government, they were to be below award wages. If a worker refused private employment he was to be refused public relief; in the last resort he would be shipped to another colony, and if refusal still came then responsibilities of the state would have been discharged. To have done otherwise would introduce `all the vicious principles of the late poor Law of England' (Dickey 1986: 11). Perhaps most interestingly, the concept of widespread unemployment deserving of legitimate relief through affirmative public works received an early airing.

Caroline Chisholm's employment schemes operating during the 1840s revolved around recognition that congestion of unemployed in urban areas was partly due to problems of labour mobility stemming from transport difficulties between urban and country areas, as well as reluctance on the part of immigrants to venture into the wilds of the interior. Faultless male as well as female joblessness was given tacit recognition by the New South Wales Colonial Government through institution of works meant specifically to relieve unemployment as well as by partially supporting various of Chisholm's relocation programs (Kiddle, 1943).

These events, prior to the Depression of the 1890's, indicated emergence of recognition that the colony had a stock of inhabitants who were male, able bodied and poor. These would bear redemption rather than extinction. With the depression of the 1890's, governments and benevolent administrators alike were forced to recognise that legitimate poverty existed and that it threatened the very independence of spirit that the working class had hitherto been celebrated as possessing.

Late 19th Century Depression and Novel methods of Dealing with Joblessness

> In the large seaports the ranks of the destitute are swelled by immigrants come from other colonies or countries in search of work, and by vagrants who have been shipped away from somewhere in order to get rid of them. The city is the natural goal of the noisy loafers, who bring all the unemployed into disrepute ... And in the city, the lazy the utterly useless, and the social outcast inevitably herd together... The larger the city the larger the leaven of immpossibles.
> (Reeves 1902, Volume II: 218)

The late nineteenth century in Australia was a heady time. Identities of loafers were produced in discourse surrounding poverty relief measures erected to deal with unemployed workers made jobless during the depression of the 1890's. Loafers became warrants to buttress and produce workers of good labour market and civil character. From both the left and the right, loafers obtained characteristics of what `good workers' were not. `Responsibilization' of workers, particularly those who were relatively unskilled and unruly, was a focus of both private and government `benevolenteers' at a time when new ground rules of class relations were being formed.

The Political Context of the 1890's

Urbanization and industrialization went through rapid expansion during the 1880's. By 1891 more than 50% of Australians lived in communities of more than 500 (Castles, 1985: 55), and urban industries such as manufacturing, building and construction, commerce and various other service industries accounted for over 60% of wage and salary earners. Figure 4. 2, gives a break down of industries in which wage and salary earners were employed. Political and industrial wings of the labour movement had been in ascendency since the 1870's. In 1891, the Labor Party in New South Wales had achieved almost 25% of seats in the Legislative Assembly with over 30% of votes caste; the first labour government in the world took office in 1899 in Queensland; and the federal Labor Party took office in 1904, 1908 and 1910, the latter with support of 50% of voters (Castles, 1985: 18-19). Strikes, many of which provoked violence and demonstrations, were a characteristic feature of the industrial relations scene (Nairn, 1961, O'Connor, 1951, Walker, 1986a,). Organisations of Employers such as New South Wales' Pastoralist's Union sprang up in response (Piggin, 1970: 546). Trade union membership density stood at around 21.5% of the work force in 1890, at the end of the long boom but declined substantially over the years of the depression (Markey, 1986: 71).

According to several commentators on the period[4] the emergent labour movement underwent a process of `embourgeoisment,' whereby radical agendas for social change were ameliorated to reformism through parliament. Connell and Irving (1980: 194-195) advocate that `smooth' accounts of the development of the Left and the Right have overly emphasised the development of labourist liberalism and parliamentary reformism as paths taken to working class empowerment. Grass roots oppositional strategies involving actions such as the commandeering of transport, reconnection of utilities to houses where occupants were behind in their rates, attacking scabs and police were employed throughout the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as means of settling disputes and confronting reactionary government and employer tactics. However, they also argue that conceptions of class emerging as dominant in labour's industrial and political leadership were extremely populist and liberal with emphasis on unfair distribution of wealth as opposed to more radical Marxist ideas of oppression of capital as a ruling power. Even the radical Australian Socialist League, formed in Sydney in 1887 strove for parliamentary representation so that they could pursue state socialism. Although somewhat parliamentarily oriented, the Socialists split with the New South Wales Labour Party in 1898 partially due to the latter's liberal orientations (O'Farrell, 1957: 164-165). Improvement of pay and working conditions characterized goals of the labour movement's electoral and industrial activity. Although some unions provided their members with sick and unemployment pay, improving the lot of unaffiliated jobless workers - beyond advocacy of the commencement of government works - was not a particularly high item on organized labour's agendas. Jobless workers could be used to aid strike breaking at a time when rights to collective bargaining were being hammered out (Gollan, 1955).

An excerpt from a document written by a workers' representative to the West Australian arbitration system in 1904, shortly before his commencement of duties, is worth reproducing from Connell and Irving's text:

> Can you Point to a party in the history of party politics the world over which has gone further on the way to abolish the prejudices of class and of calling than the Labour party? We have the Protestant and the Catholic, the superior civil servant (poor spiritless being) and the navvy, the doctor and the miner, the lawyer and the farmer. (p. 200)

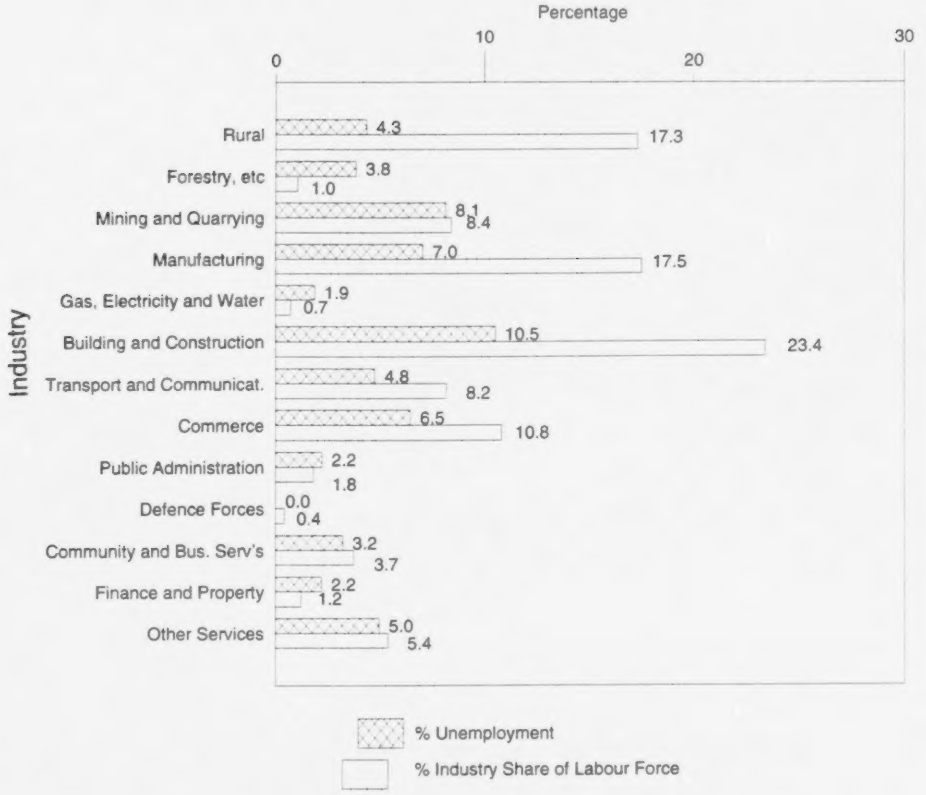
Ideas of `levelling' and redistributing rather than overthrowing, enabled efficacy of government intervention in economic relations to be couched in terms of a mechanism by which conflicts characterizing relations between classes as mere interest groups might be resolved. Connell and Irving argued that liberal and labour intellectuals combined to form a `discourse of labourism' (p. 201) wherein compatible ideas of government intervention as methods to achieve diverse ends, enabled development of a liberal `idea of the state.'

That the `Labourist discourse' of system amelioration was prefered to that of revolution rather than overthrowing was due to more than intellectuals and political leaders rubbing shoulders and coming up with a compromise agenda for reform.

Figure 4. 2

Male Wage and Salary Earners 1891:

Industry Share of Labour Force and % Unemployment



Note: Unemployment percentages were calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{unemployed wage and salary earners}}{\text{wage and salary earners in work force}} = \frac{\text{(total industry work force - non wage and salary earners) - employed wage and salary earners}}{\text{total industry work force - non wage and salary earners}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

Industry share of labour force percentages were calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{total work force in industry - non wage and salary earners in industry}}{\text{total aggregate work force - total aggregate non wage and salary earners}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

Source: Modified from Butlin and Dowie (19 : 44-45)

Castles (1985: 56) argues that absence of outright rejection of the capitalist system could partly be explained by the relative wealth of Australian workers compared to their counterparts overseas. In other words, things weren't all that bad and workers preferred not to kill the goose that provided them with golden eggs. Further, Scates (1981: 177) argued that at least in Victoria, labour-liberal alliances had been developed in opposition to landed privilege as early as the 1870's, and later, in support of a protective tariff. These arguments provide reasonable materialist explanations of why there was no radical left revolution in a country with an extremely early and strong organised labour movement. However, Connell and Irving's emphasis on middle class cultural forms promoted through government organised and backed educational and benevolent institutions, introduces a dynamic of cultural integration (qua hegemony) into late nineteenth century events that feeds well into our attempts to address how `problems of idleness' were encountered and dealt with.

`Essential Loafers', Urban Civility and Vilification of Political Radicals

Connell and Irving argued that government interventions to reform working class family life including successful lobbying for compulsory and cheap government supported elementary education in 1870's and 1880's and encouragement of home ownership, were `**integrative**' government interventions. These were presented as attempts to promote an `ideology' of a `scientific' liberal individualism that pointed to the poor physical conditions of working class locales as the seat of a `moral contagion.' Working class leisure pursuits such as drinking were `feckless and the larikin youth culture was automatically criminal.' In effect, these were mechanisms that undercut grass roots radicalism and masked government intervention as paternalistically benevolent. These were means of creating an impression that particular behaviours were part and parcel of being a good citizen and a good worker (Connell and Irving, 1980: 198-203).

Added to categories of poverty during the late nineteenth century were those jobless **through no fault of their own**. The Charity Organization and Ladies Benevolent Societies of Melbourne had orchestrated friendly visiting to inquire into the legitimacy of a claim - sobriety, vocabulary and accommodation conditions constituted subjects of inquiry. Claimants' **ideal** identities became amalgams of middle class derived ideas of what a good worker and **his** family life should be like. Those able to demonstrate requisite classed and gendered characteristics of dependency gained relief, those unable or unwilling to do so, missed out (Kennedy, 1985, Swain, 1980).

With the onset of the 1890's depression, philanthropic resources were stretched. Poverty from unemployment became widely recognised as a legitimate cause for relief application but was difficult to identify with when accompanied by an onslaught of `essential idlers'. Further, the 1890's was a period when demonstrations of unemployed workers in urban centres attracted a great deal of alarm from government and philanthropic voices alike. The figure of the `essential loafer' continued to dominate discourse surrounding discussion of measures to be adopted in dealing with jobless males. `Essential loafers' constituted in colonial liberal discourse remained as dominant figures. However, the problem of idleness became a problem of revitalization of the sovereignty of natural economics in the souls of applicants for relief distinguished as worthy of revitalization through work testing. `Responsibilization', the process of making workers independent civil subjects, became a key priority of poverty relief agencies.

Resultant programs promoting working class asceticism and levelled mainly at single men, had for some time been levelled at single women in an array of institutions. For them, their femininity when combined with application for help bore evidence (unless contradicted by the right accent or perhaps demonstrated education) of corrupted innocence remediable through training in feminine civility for those whose innocence had not completely turned. Men, however, were not expected to be dependent in Australia. Although Larikins[5] and other Bushmen, both married and single, were heralded by Lawson and Paterson as symbolic of Australia's untrammelled vitality and youth (Davison, 1978), they were vilified by social reformers of the late nineteenth century as causes of feminine and childhood misery contained within increasingly congested and repugnant urban living environs (Mayne, 1983: 565):

> ... in place of the Matey nomads of the Bush Legend, social reformers promoted Domestic Man, abstemious, and aware of his duty to wife and children. (McConnville, 1987:432)

Ideals of colonial virility were giving way to those of urban civility among those with quiet power to give effect to their liberal moral conventions through legitimate private benevolent and state institutions. The bush, however, would not for a long time to come lose its capacity to absorb and facilitate working class vigour. Dependent men remained, by virtue of their dependence, an offensive sight to those in charge of Australian civility.

The `loafer' was a creature despised by critics as well as defenders of industrial liberalism. Some meetings of the unemployed in public areas were organized at the time that the Salvation Army distributed its relief rations so that meetings would `at least be relieved of the comparatively small but troublesome class of loafers' (Rosa, 1890: 1). Pember Reeves, from whose 1902 book the quote heading this section was taken, was a Labour Minister in New Zealand. An organization in Sydney, the `Citizens Unemployed Committee', composed of parliamentarians and church workers, advocating the commencement of government spending on public works in response to high levels of unemployment, wrote of `the loafing element': `we recommend the committal of such persons to a labour settlement or workshop wherein labour shall be compulsory ... Such persons should be taken in hand and put under strict discipline with a view to their reformation' (Citizen's unemployed Committee, 1898: 6-7). The point is drawn here to indicate that the loafer formed such a distinctive category of citizen that substantial methods of Governance were erected around it. This, at a time when precise knowledge of human condition was required to effect appropriate behavioural responses from workers struggling to form coherent agendas of resistance.

Members of the radical left who were advocating improvement in extent of employment were ostracised with the still prominent figure of the essential idler. People such as Melbourne's Sam Rosa were branded loafers. Rosa was instrumental in leading and participating in demonstration marches designed to demand remedial action from the state during 1890 (Rosa, 1890). Those such as the Charity Organisation Society's (COS) Colonel Goldstein, steeped in liberal `Marvellous Melbourne' discourse, were unable to articulate the issues beyond the essentialism of loafer\unemployed implicated in delegitimation of dependence. Dissidents were stripped of legitimacy and the appropriately civil worker was buttressed when `dissident' became discursively associated with `loafer'. The real unemployed worker is quiescent. Colonel Goldstein remarked to the COS conference in Melbourne just one year after Rosa's demonstrations were staged:

> These hundreds of loafers, tramps, drunkards, criminals, broken-down and "masterless" men, and invertebrate creatures who formed not only so large a

> proportion of the "unemployed" movements the last three years, but who are always present in these colonies, and who are a standing menace to our civilization, what about them? They are not welcome in our individualistic social arrangement. Though they are counters in the game played by the so called "social democrats," they could not for a moment be tolerated in a socialistic community. In self-defence, any form of socialism would have to stamp out these unfortunates. It is the main objection to socialism that it **must** be unrelentingly cruel to the weaker human products... The Under-secretary for Queensland [reported] "the real unemployed who preferred hard work anywhere to idleness in town .... were those of the `better class' such as clerks thrown out of employment by commercial depression, and who instinctively shrank from parading their distress" ... What is the cure for this dangerous class of loafers, this disease of our circulation? Perhaps our wise and good friend Pastor Herlitz told us last year of the only cure ... to my mind the only possible remedy is the Arbeiter Kolonie (Goldstein 1891: 98-100)

Rosa, an avowed Democratic Socialist, accounted for `the unemployed agitation' in quite a different way. Rosa wrote of the discursive and practical burial of unemployment as being impossible to shift without overt action. `The press hides in the sand the misery of the poorest workers, by refusing to report it, and then affirms that it does not exist and that Victoria is the workman's paradise' (Rosa 1890: 47).

The sorting out of and dealing with loafers became a way of erecting a normative anti-identity, legitimating methods of relief administration that enacted liberal ideals of civility for workers. Workers had to prove that they were not loafers, and once this had been accomplished were required to submit to various methods of regulating their behaviour. Novel methods to enact liberal governance of poverty appearing in the 1890's included Reverend Langley's Labour House in Sydney, labour colonies including Victoria's Leongatha Labour Colonies and, most importantly, various forms of government operated Labour Bureaux.

Langley's Labour House and Victoria's Leongatha were places of discipline wherein a worker's independence could be reinstated. They were also places that effectively highlighted the `otherness' of verified loafers. However, they were administered as `charitable' organisations, thus enacting a face-to face relationship between a reforming middle class and dependent workers. The importance of government labour bureau activity is interpreted in terms of the extent to which government intervention in labour markets was simultaneously a response to worker's demands for aid, legitimating the ` idea of the state' as a congealed social interest, as well as a method of appropriating definitions of the constitution of appropriate labour market and civil behaviour.

By administering relief rations **in conjunction** with administration of chances for jobs, a method of institutionalizing a working class `anti-identity' revolving around criminalized forms of dependence had been struck. Although labour bureaus did, in fact, provide beneficial services to workers, they performed other vital tasks for emergent industrial liberalism. Potential for radical collective protest action was dissipated by shifting workers from the city into the bush. In addition, a space was created to abstract bourgeois reform from the hands of private `benevolenteers'. Further, discovery of loafers became an administrative routine, enabling expansion of the scale of worker discipline. The following discussion recounts major components of an emergent disciplinary regime achieving its purposes partially through the normative partitioning of workers' behaviour.

Langley's Labour House in Sydney

In Sydney, Reverend J. D. Langley operated an institution in a factory in Harris St. Ultimo called a `Labour House' wherein applicants were given food and lodging but only in return for work. Most of the inmates were single and were required to sleep the night on the premises. They were allowed into the city before 8.00 am to check advertisements for work. Those few who were married were allowed to go home at night after working during the day, carrying with them a small provision of food for their families. Preference for admission was given to those with a subscriber's ticket (tickets were sold to the philanthropically inclined who would in turn give them to those deemed in need of them). Vagrants were discharged as soon as they were known to be so by virtue of the fact that their wood chopping or other productive enterprise was not up to Langley's expectations. Jackson (1892: 103-104) described the routine of Langley's Labour House:

> The rules and regulations have first of all to be subscribed, and then as a general rule, the newcomer's mettle is tested by his being told off for work in the wood cutting yard. If he turn out a loafer he is promptly sent about his business; granted that he show himself a deserving character, he is put, at the end of about a week, to other occupations. Eight Hours per diem is exacted, in return for which there is provided food and shelter. During the first few weeks of the home's existence the men were allowed to work out their food and shelter, and, this having been done to satisfaction, they were free to go about seeking for

> employment. This plan, however has not been found to answer, and the rule now is that each man shall do his eight hours work in the home, unless leave of absence be specially granted by the foreman.

Submission to temporal regulation, hard physical labour, and confinement were measures used to extract a reflection back to Langley that he had indeed achieved appropriate targeting of assistance. One could argue that a change was sought in incumbents by making them conform to the rigours of oversighted labour, however, loafers once known were literally `caste out' from the `sanctuary.' This is consistent with Wearing's interpretation of Langley's 1891 writings, that Langley was only interested in assisting those known to be `honest toilers' (Wearing 1990: 93).

While certainly consonant with Paul Lafargue's (1907: 15) exclamation, `twelve hours of work a day, that is the ideal of the philantropists and moralists,' a slightly divergent interpretation is offered here. Inmates were given the opportunity to show their innate civility, thrust up through the grime of poverty with physical work. Loafers, on the other hand, held a deep seated soul taint that could not be washed away with work and compulsory use of the `Fumigator.'[6] It would seem that an ascetic straightening would redeem the merely scuffed and expose the truly dirty. Benthamite architectural principles were adopted for use in the design of the Labour House:

> The old factory is the home proper. It is a large two-storied building. Above is the sleeping accommodation, some 33 cubicles separated by canvas partitions, containing each a truckle bed and nothing more. And these tiny bedrooms are so arranged along the wall as to leave an oblong room in the centre. This is fitted up as a chapel, and is used for services in connexion with the church of England (Jackson, 1892: 103)

In order to get to their `bedrooms,' inmates had to pass through the chapel, a constant reminder of who was helping them out, and who would be keeping a silent though ubiquitous and unresting eye on them as they slept. The place was designed to **know** into being a productive soul; an **active** knowledge achieving an effect by scraping off the taint of poverty. Garton (1990: 76) called Langley's Labour House a `labour colony'. Although the labour house was, in many respects of a similar nature to Victoria's labour colony, Leongatha (discussed below), the labour house's urban location did not enable the same kind of discipline that rural separateness of colonies addressed, nor was it capable of handling the same quantity of throughput.

Labour Colonies

The Charity Organization Society of Melbourne (COS) held its First Annual Conference at Melbourne University in November 1890. Delegates came from Tasmania, New South Wales, New Zealand, Melbourne and Rural Victoria, representing many of the major charitable institutions of the time. A reading of papers presented and summarized discussion gives us a `snapshot' of salient issues for the benevolently inclined. Pauperism, indiscriminate relief and unemployment occupied major portions of the agenda, perhaps the most important of these, in terms of its impact on the Australian Welfare scene, was a paper delivered by a German Expatriate working at Trinity Lutheran Church East Melbourne, Pastor Herman Herlitz. In his paper "Workman's Colonies for Australia" Herlitz introduced his influential audience to labour colonies being conducted in Germany:

> Houses of Correction are established to "compel the idle to Labour, to train them in habits of Industry, to set a limit to groundless application for relief, and to put an end to begging" These houses are under the control of the police, and under the police regulations any person may be consigned to and retained in them for up to two years "when he so far abandons himself to gambling, drink or idleness as to require relief for himself or for those depending on him for their support". I think if our law dealing with persons having no lawful visible means of support was amended in a similar way, the number of those who participate in the usual winter demonstrations of the unemployed would be very perceptibly diminished. (Herlitz, 1892: 94)

Herlitz spoke of Wilhemsdorf in Wesphalia as a model colony. There, `entry and exit is voluntary, diets described as good and accommodation comfortable. Experience shows that Tramps are not deterred by mere discomfort or bad accommodation.' (Herlitz, 1891: 95). Land reclamation and eventually cultivation comprised the work done there for which the men would be given half the normal rate of pay, receivable upon honourable discharge - dishonourable discharge attracting the penalty of forfeiture of all wages. These colonies apparently provided a context not only wherein the reforming middle class and state could create desired behaviours, but where the working class could know itself:

> ... the men, as a rule behave well, assisting sometimes themselves to keep the unruly in check; and only 24 had to be dismissed in one year out of a total of 554 who came to the colony. Skilled professional cadgers do not often come to Wilhelmsdorf. Most of the colonists are able-bodied, and not past middle age; some are drunkards, but many are or become, good workmen. The

> superintendent sends a weekly report of the admissions to the police who occasionally visit the colony. ... The average stay is 98 days. (Herlitz, 1891: 95)

Herlitz's paper was met with resounding applause and eager anticipation from his audience. The only dissenters (one of whom would ironically be instrumental in the formation of Victoria's Wilhelmsdorf) were wary about some of the administrative difficulties in making sure the right kind of person was admitted. A circular distributed in anticipation of the second conference held in 1891 had as one of its eight subjects for consideration `**The Unemployed.**-I. Labour Test for Vagrants. II Labour Colonies' (Charity Organization Society of Melbourne, 1891).

Three of the conference's papers dealt explicitly with unemployment and methods of separating workers from non-workers were central issues in each. The Charity Organization Society itself was a manifestation of heightened desire to know the poor very well. Through rational case work and information sharing, objectives of Charity could be pursued accurately (Woodroofe, 1959). Scientific principles were to be applied to the construction of charitable objectives and construction of the means to achieve them. Science meant objective knowledge and that could be had through comprehensive networking and sharing of information (to prevent claimants from `double dipping') and the application of a Labour Test to distinguish the vagrant from the genuine citizen -i.e. the unemployed. The COS used wood-chopping and stone-breaking as methods to deter loafers, under the assumption that loafers would not be attracted to a handout if they had to do work in return. They would be known by their absence (Kennedy, 1985: 192-193).

Kennedy (1985) argues that admiration for the English Poor Law system was growing in Australia. Certainly the reception that Herlitz's 1890 paper received indicates this. A fit with emergent scientific empiricist rationality can be found quite strikingly in Herlitz's (1892: 109-110) lament at the 1891 conference when he had found that in one of the German Colonies, they had run out of work to test claimants with:

> ... we had to say to many, "Go on, we cannot help you." This painful condition of things at last compelled us to give up our excellent rule, "First work, then food." Just because we knew that a number of these people, at least, would really much rather work than beg, we could not refuse them food when we had no work to offer. And behold! as soon as we relaxed that rule our old

> bad lot of vagabonds re-appeared. Of course we knew full well that to a number of these men it was not charity to give them meals, but without work, how was it possible to discriminate between worthy and unworthy applicants?

European Labour Colonies, Welfare Empiricism and Civil Catharsis

`Without work, how was it possible to discriminate between worthy and unworthy applicants?' The difference between a worthy and an unworthy applicant would be known by work, but the content of `worthiness' may not have been labour force participation as such. Delegates of German Benevolent agencies met together in 1884 to discuss issues relevant to the management of widespread labour colonies. At this meeting they resolved that the purpose of the colonies was to `truly help our fellow men, and that not only for the moment but lastingly, not only bodily but also morally and spiritually' (Herlitz 1892: 111). An operation on the soul was clearly intended, for both worthy and unworthy. The worthy would be kept from the rigours of hunger as well as contamination from the unworthy, the worthy would be known by appropriate participation. The unworthy would be consigned to either the limbo of continued vagrancy or a type of Hades represented in detention centres that were apparently rigidly run like prisons.

In German tramp prisons such as the Labour House of Benninghausen in Prussia's Westphalia, `sloth and vice' was cured. As late as 1908 inmates were committed for vagabondage, begging, begging and vagabondage together, idleness, work-shyness, homelessness, and professional immorality. Inmates had all autonomy taken from them. Their day started at 4.30 am. After rising and dressing they were assembled in the corridor and numbered. Eating, working and their half hour in the open air were rigidly controlled. Work lasted for 12 hours excluding breaks. `Where the tasks imposed [were] unfulfilled at the close of the day, owing to evident sloth or insubordination, some sort of punishment follow[ed]' (Dawson 1910: 152).

Dawson thought that Benninghausen was an `admirable application of the allopathic principle to penology' (Dawson 1910: 147). The disease to be expunged was one of the heart, the action was ritualistic routine and confinement. The Sovereign benefactor would, behind closed doors exorcise the moral disease of indolence. Civil society was sovereign here but the relation accomplished was one of surgical removal, rather than facilitation. The treatment in the two types of centre was different not merely by degree, but qualitatively in terms of the identity of the inmate. One arrested and operated on, the other facilitated back to independence. The sovereign remained civil society in each case but institutional action constituted two very different kinds of subjects. Those failing work testing in Wilhelmsdorf were known to be of the type eligible for Benninghausen.

Colonies were geographically removed from civil society, yet represented an intensification of it. Civility: honest work, payment for bounty, and wages. Detention centres were all of a prison designed to incarcerate, remove, obliterate, literally transport indigents to civility's hidden face. In Australia, Miss Spence of South Australia's State Children's Department responded to Herlitz's 1891 paper with the following remarks:

> The standing difficulty of our civilization was to distinguish between the needy man who was willing to work and the vagrant who would not work under any circumstances. A plan by which the former class could be sifted from the latter and raised to better things, leaving the impostor to be dealt with by the criminal law, seemed to be the desideratum of society. (Spence 1892: 116)

Australia's civil society could not boast of the systematic and orderly arrangement of rural detention centres/concentrations of working class civility, that had become popular in England (Harris 1972: 116), as well as Europe. Certainly Women's Houses of Industry in major cities were of the civilizing order as were Juvenile Industrial Schools and Reformatories. However, the scale of European interior colonization was thwarted in Australia by a marked ambivalence on the part of governments to guarantee the success of colonies, despite recommendations made by Victoria's Board of Inquiry on Unemployment (Victoria, 1900). Police Action was not guaranteed in rounding up `vagrants,' nor was land and subsidy freely flowing to provide infrastructure.

Australian Labour Colonies: Methods of Social Catharsis and Experiments in Social Democracy

Australian labour colonies that developed in the 1890's and early 1900's were of a mixed variety, that could not have possibly had the constitutive potency in relation to working class distinctions that the German system was capable of. These varied in style from place to place. Victoria's Leongatha was of a punitive/reformative style and settlements such as Pit Town or Williams Town in New South Wales or Tasmania's

Southport were of a `Co-operative' nature. Uniting all these disparately organised locations was their geographical separation from civil society. Labour Colonies established in England over the ensuing decades would be referred to as `interior colonies.' Separation from urban centres made these distinct from local parish workhouses. The unemployed problem was approached by literally removing it. As will be discussed later on, employment bureaux, ubiquitously established in Australia in the 1890's, began by performing a similar function by issuing rail passes to urban unemployed for travel into country areas.

Leongatha

The Leongatha Labour Colony, lasting on and off for 16 years, was conceived by a COS Committee formed three months after Herlitz delivered his first paper on German Labour Colonies. Herlitz, Morris (COS's president) and Goldstein conceived the plan as a complement to wood chopping and stone breaking labour tests in Melbourne. Leongatha received its first inmates set to work clearing the land, in September 1893. Before being selected for work at Leongatha, applicants were screened by COS staff as to their character and desire to gain work. Those selected were sent to Melbourne's rail station and given a free rail pass. Upon arrival at Leongatha, inmates were divided into gangs according to capabilities and set to work clearing land. Inmates were paid 4/- (Shillings) per week if skilled and 1/6 (Shillings) if unskilled. Clothing and other items had to be bought from these wages. Food was supplied. Between 1893 and 1896, average length of stay was three months, for an average of 228 colonists present at any one time (Kennedy, 1968).

Although Leongatha was a state operated affair, it was administered by COS's Colonel Goldstein for five years from 1894, and received its inmates with COS approval. While outright loafers were screened by the COS with the help of police reports (Victoria, Report From the Select Committee Upon the Leongatha Labour Colony, 1900: 431-432) prior to the granting of a rail pass to reach Leongatha, some were dismissed from Leongatha for misconduct as workers.

Work testing, did not occur at Leongatha per se, though it is probable that, at least under Goldstein's watchful eye, the souls of the unemployed were to be cleansed of any taint of pauperism that government support may have engendered. Still present was the theme of liberal civility applied in a concentrated form at a place removed from the metropolis. Though physical removal of the unemployed undoubtedly served as a device to quell violent protest and to aid supply of labour to rural areas, separation of unemployed from the metropolis also served to identify loafers by their presence in the city. Loafers were those who didn't care for rural work or who were deemed so by the COS. The soul of the unrepentant layabout was floodlit by Leongatha's distance.

Co-operative Settlements

Agricultural enterprises such as those pursued at Pitt Town, Wilberforce and Bega were of an entirely different nature. To begin with, some of Pitt Town's first residents included prominent figures such as J. C. Watson (president of the Trades and Labour Council and Labour Electoral Leagues, and later, first Labor Prime Minister of Australia), Benjamin Backhouse (Chairman of the Co-operative Association of Australiasia), the Lieutenant Governor, two Protestant Clergymen, the Rev. Br. Thomas Roseby (a Christian Socialist) and W. F. Schey (Railway unionist, Member of Parliament, future director of the N. S. W. Labour Bureau and promoter of the co-operative enterprise to the Colonial Secretary) (Markey, 1985). These labour settlements, generally unsuccessful as going concerns (with the exception of Bega maintaining a population of 197 by 1900 (Coghlan, 1969: 1965)) were enterprises in the co-operative principle gaining ground in England,[7] and fuelled in Australia by W. D. Lane's expedition to Argentina[8]. They were not outright attempts to shift the unemployed out of town. However in 1896, Pitt Town was taken over by the N. S. W. government and converted into a Leongatha type colony (Walker, 1970).

Land Settlement/labour training schemes continued in fits and starts in various places around the country until the beginning of the Second World War. Settlements such as South Australia's Hope Forest, Enterprise Colony or Colonel Light Colony were initiated as schemes during the Great Depression of the early 1930s as attempts to literally convert urban unemployment into rural self-sufficient enterprise. Difficulties encountered were common throughout the country. Urban workers had little or no farming experience; they were to require more than `true grit' to make these enterprises successful. As Dyer (1976:34) argued, not only was agricultural knowledge lacking, but so was entrepreneurial long-term planning and intellectual commitment. Many of these people had been unemployed for long periods of time and prior to that they had been employees accustomed to taking orders. Independence from state and private handouts or short term relief work was certainly achievable, but with it came a sort of independence that would take a good deal of getting used to.

Markey (1985) corrected Walker's (1970) interpretation of the failure of the co-operative settlements as being indicative of a failure of the co-operative movement in general among the country's burgeoning political and industrial left indicating the sheer hegemony of liberal individualism. Rather, Markey argues that the failure of the co-operative movement had more to do with strategic ineptitude at a time when the labour movement was struggling to form a coherent and pragmatic agenda around the turn of the century.

Splintered Meanings of Independence for Unemployed Workers

Independence as a theme had always characterized rationale for support of `back to the land' schemes in various forms; however, the meaning of independence should be seen to have been fragmented. Pamphleteers from the left (Alexander, 1884, Mann, 1895) as well as from the reforming right (Citizens Unemployed Committee, 1898), advocated use of land by unemployed workers as a way to gain **independence from wage labour**. Others, particularly from the reforming right, were interested in instilling in the worker a sense of **independence in selling labour power**. Independence was interpreted differently with each form of enterprise. At Leongatha, unemployed workmen could expect to have their sense of independence returned to them through hard work for wages. In effect, they were being maintained as independent workers in the liberal sense - freely exchanging labour for cash. `Closer settlement' workers literally became entrepreneurs and had to sort out their own production schedules as well as autonomously conduct political and economic arrangements within the bounded social context of the settlement. This proved difficult particularly for utopian schemes initiated on the co-operative principle such as New South Wales' ill-fated schemes promoted by W. F. Schey in the 1890's. In spite of fine utopian socialistic intentions and, in Pitt Town's case, the presence of prominent left wing leaders, individualistic entrepreneurs emerged from divisive contestation over organization of production issues (Walker 1970: 24).

Training farms were a third type of land settlement established for the explicit purpose of providing urban unemployed (particularly youth) with agricultural skills. Although these were most prominent in the 1930's they are worth mentioning here for the contrast they provide to earlier techniques of instilling labour discipline. Here independence was the production of potential to be utilized in an agricultural labour market. Apart from simply providing skills, these farms (still referred to, at least in Western Australia, as `colonies') sought to give to youth a sense of independence that normal absorption in a labour market would not provide. This represents a subtle though important shift in the problem of idleness and concomitant type of independence sought to be instilled. The problem of idleness was mainly conceived in terms of protecting the dignity of labour at a time when it was in danger of collapse. Independence was seen as independence of a worker to make a living without assistance. Independence was seen as being eroded systemically through lack of access to employment opportunities rather than personal proclivity to idleness either through bad association, drink or sheer laziness.

Training farms did not seek to expel workers from urban areas, but rather provided a method of creating for the first time, a sense of independence represented as the personal relevance of labour markets. Though not important in terms of the numbers of boys actually absorbed, the fact that these farms were developed for almost identical purposes at roughly the same time indicates the centrality of this type of independence. New South Wales' Pit Town was an early example . Pit Town became a training farm meant exclusively for youth in 1905 and continued in operation into the 1930's as Scheyville.

The significance of the splintering of independence themes is that they ran concurrently, with the latter gradually overtaking the former. Transformation of N. S. W.'s Pitt Town provides a convenient illustration of the order of shifts in notions of legitimate independence and methods of sustaining it. Pitt Town began as a co-operative enterprise, became a labour colony along the lines of Leongatha in 1896 and then in 1905 became a youth training centre. The latter shift is important to note when seen in context of parallel developments in methods of handling `the unemployment problem.'

Distinction between essential idleness (outside of society and abnormal) and essential good, characterized methods of establishing entry and continued residence in Labour Colonies. **Inmates** required minor adjustments. Independence was re-established in intensified and remote civility; dignity was restored.

Training centres **took the place of normal market absorption** of labour potential, essential innocence protected from idleness. Independence was **established** within a context of artificial normality. Potential was realized on entry to rural labour markets at the end of the training program. Co-operative settlement independence proved itself to be a grotesque changeling, asserting the superiority and inevitability of individualistic entrepreneurial enterprise.

Late nineteenth century labour colonies formed parts of strategies pursued in a rather confused struggle to deal with the notion of unemployment. The landed unemployed were not merely urban refugees, they were symbolic of the possibility of alternatives to pauperism. As living examples of **unemployed others**, they enhanced the space for legitimacy of establishment of idleness through work testing. Scheme participants were certainly jobless, but they must also have been **unemployed** due to their keen participation. While numbers actually absorbed by these scattered undertakings were small in comparison to those dependent on forms of outdoor relief, administered by state and private enterprises, the functional significance was to make concrete, to give structural weight to the overlaying of town and country onto the discursive duality of worker/pauper. `Worker' was someone prepared to do **anything** in return for work including the development of new skills and submission to camp regimentation. `Pauper' was someone not prepared to leave the city and go into the bush. The soul of **mere** poverty was given shape in the form of the ambivalent worker, something achieved with the symbolic `otherness' of Labour colonists.

The New South Wales Labour Bureau: Social Integration and the State.

Around the same time that William Lane's New Australia pioneers launched their quest for agricultural utopia in Argentina, Australia's first government operated labour bureau was established in New South Wales (The Bureau). Joseph Creer was appointed its director and doors opened in Sydney[9] during February 1892. The Bureau's major official function was to facilitate employment by registering unemployed workers, canvassing employers with job vacancies and referring workers to jobs. The Bureau also delivered `relief rations' which, in 1894, consisted of four pounds of bread, three pounds of meat and two pounds of sugar per week for an adult and half of this amount for each child in an applicant's family. It is argued here that During the 1890's, The Bureau accomplished several outcomes that manifested power relations between employers and workers not previously achieved by privately operated charitable organisations: Large scale dissipation of actual and potential radical critique; facilitation of a worker's willingness to accept declining working conditions (particularly among those relatively unskilled); enhancement of workers' civil `responsibilization'; and extension of the `idea of the state', bringing the New South Wales government into focus as a `disinterested' source of benevolence.

Moving `The Unemployed' Out of Town: The Bureau, Labour Markets and Political Necessity.

The Bureau was not necessarily a well thought out mechanism for rationalizing labour markets. Rather, according to Creer, its formation was in response to mounting antagonism from unemployed workers. Creer remarks in an unnamed newspaper feature[10] recalling his appointment as Director of the Labour Bureau to fellow Manxmen[11] in London:

> Sir George Dibs [the New South Wales Premier] asked me would I take charge of the Labour Bureau. I said, "What's a Labour Bureau?" He replied "I don't know; but you've got to get rid of the unemployed in three months." There was then ten to fifteen thousand unemployed about Sydney on the point of revolution... Sir George said "Jump in a cab, and find premises as fast as you can, and as far away from me as you can." I obtained premises, employed a number of clerks, had the requisite printing done, and got opened in time. I had carte blanche to do as I liked. I had to make my own rules and regulations as experience taught me. (Creer, 1902)

The bureau did indeed shift unemployed men out of the city. It did so by issuing rail passes to country areas. In 1891, national unemployment over 5% was, with the exception of mining and quarrying industries, experienced in primarily urban industries such as manufacturing, building and construction and commerce. These industries taken together claimed almost 52% of male wage and salary earners. Figure 4. 2 gives a breakdown of unemployment percentages as well as percentages of male wage and salary earners identifying themselves as belonging to one of thirteen industrial categories in the 1891 Census. By 1894, most occupations classified by Markey (1988) as `labour aristocracy', (i.e. enjoying high level and regularity of pay, high degrees of job control, and close relations with the middle class (Markey, 1988: 43)), were represented among clients of the bureau, accounting for about 29% of all registrants. The vast majority of the remainder were relatively unskilled workers such as farm hands, labourers, and `generally usefuls'. Table 4. 1 shows a listing of the occupations of New South Wales Labour Bureau Registrants for the year ended 17th February, 1894.

Table 4. 2 attempts to map, albeit in a crude manner,[12] the extent to which people in particular occupations found work in those occupations through the bureau and the extent to which those getting referrals were sent to jobs in the country as opposed to the town. Overall, 85% of registrants were referred to jobs, and 85% of those jobs were in the country. It cannot be strongly argued that most registrants were `pressed' into country jobs. Wage rates in country areas declined to a lesser extent than did wage rates in urban areas (see figure 4. 3 for comparison of farm and building labourer's wage rates).[13] Rural occupations such as farm and station hands enjoyed high rates of placement to registration. In some occupations, more people were sent to jobs than had registered. For example, six times as many `married couples' were sent out to jobs (most in the country) as had registered, indicating a flow to this kind of work arrangement from other occupations.

Creer commented that many rural employers were taking advantage of the generally depressed wage situation and were undertaking work on their properties such as land clearing which otherwise would have remained undone (New South Wales, 1894: 1060). While it seems reasonable that demand for rural labour remained high and may have absorbed many unemployed urban workers, there are indications that this demand was not strong enough to absorb the bulk of unemployed **unskilled** workers. Garton (1990: 76) comments that city workers complained that by the time they reached country employers to which they had been sent by the bureau, positions had been filled by unemployed country workers and returned to Sydney to re-register at the bureau.

Workers crowded the bureau office and provided a potential pool accessible for mobilization by the radical left. It is likely that the position was similar if not worse in 1894 than in 1897 when a NSW Parliamentarian declared:

`without exaggeration there were 2500 men there [at the labour bureau] many of whom were literally climbing over the heads of others in an endeavour to get into the labour bureau in order to obtain the chance of having 5 days work at 5s. a day' (New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, First ser., Vol. 87, 1897, p. 1051, quoted in Macarthy

(1988: 75).

Table 4. 1

Classification of Trades and Occupations of Registrants At the NSW Labour Bureau During the Year Ended Feb. 17th, 1894

Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.
Labour Aristocracy		Non-Labour Aristocracy (con't)		Othrer Non-Labour Aristocracy (con't)	
Bakers	147	Labourers	3285	Laundryman	1
Blacksmiths	201	Miners	1200	Marble Trades	11
Boilermakers	74	Quarrymen	56	Married Couples	42
Bootmakers	89	Storekeepers	96	Master Mariners	3
Bricklayers	206	Station Hands and Bushmen	763	Millwrights	5
Brickmakers	81	Tailors	59	Modellers	1
Butchers	199			Musicians	6
Carpenters	576	Other Non-Labour Aristocracy		Overseers	8
Ironmoulders	63	Accountants	6	Orchard Hands	14
Painters and Paperhangers	245	Ashphalters	7	Opticians	1
Plasterers	117	Auctioneers	3	Paper-makers	1
Plumbers	112	Architects	1	Pattern makers	5
Printers	87	Artists	4	Packers	13
Stonemasons	134	Barbers	2	Platelayers	2
Woolclassers, Felmongers &c.	55	Barmen and Boots	30	Porters	6
		Basket makers	7	Potters	6
		Billiard makers	1	Pile-driver	1
Other Labour Aristocracy		Blind Makers	2	Pressmen	12
Bookbinders	4	Boatbuilders	4	Photographer	1
Coach Trades	46	Bottlers	3	Port-mateau maker	1
Confectioners	8	Brewers	5	Rubble Mason	1
Coopers	8	Bridge Hands	16	Sawyers	38
Curriers & Tanners	16	Brass Trade	5	Salesmen	21
Fitters	19	Brush hands	1	Sailmakers	9
French Polishers	14	Builders	5	Seamen	20
Harness-makers	40	Canvasers	19	Signwriters	6
Ironworkers	23	Caretakers	8	Slaters	3
Machinists	26	Cellarmen	5	Stewards	26
Saddlers	14	Coachmen	6	Shearers	29
Shipwrights	26	Commercial travellers	15	Surveyors	2
Tinsmiths	41	Coppersmiths	5	Surveyors hands	23
Turners (wood or iron)	5	Cordialmakers	9	Staioners	3
Wheelwrights	27	Dyers	3	Tallow maker	1
Total Other Aristocracy	**317**	Drapers	44	Tailors Presser	1
Total Labour Aristocracy	2703	Dentists	1	Tilers	2
		Drainers	3	Tutors	22
		Electricians	4	Tabacco Twisters	3
Non-Labour Aristocracy		Farriers	11	Telegraph Operator	1
Carters	348	Factory hands	8	Upholsterers	11
Clerks, &c.	258	Fencers	3	Unbrella makers	1
Cooks	314	Flour Millers	8	Vigneron	2
Dairy hand	66	Fruit packers	1	Vocalist	1
Engine Drivers	112	Glass-makers	1	Waitchmakers	5
Engineers	158	Hospital Wardsmen	11	Waiters, &c.	31
Farm hands	473	Hairdressers	33	Watchmen	7
Firemen	99	Hatters	4	Warehousemen	3
Gardeners	155	Ironmongers	13	Woodcarver	1
Generally usefulls	762	Japanner	1	Wireworkers	6
Grooms	338	Jewelers	5	Callings not classified	67
Grocers	86	Leather finishers	1	**Total Other Non-Labour Aristocracy**	**814**
		Lumpers	2	**Total Non Labour Aristocracy**	**9442**
		Locksmiths	2	**Total Registered**	**12145**

Modified from

Sources: NSW (1894: 1066-1067).

Markey (1988: 45) for classifiocation of occupations as Labour Aristocracy.

Table 4. 2

Occupations and Numbers of Persons Registered at the New South Wales Labour Bureau and Those Sent out to Town and Country Locations During the Year ended February 17th, 1894

Ocupation	Registered at Labour Bureau No.	Sent to Town No.	Sent to Country No.	No. Sent to Country as % of Total Sent (%)	Total Sent No.	Total Sent as % of Bureau Registrants (%)	Deficit of Total sent To Bureau Registrants No.	Deficit as % of Bureau Registrants (%)
Labour Aristocracy								
Bakers	147	17	48	74	65	44	82	56
Blacksmiths	201	22	41	65	63	31	138	69
Boilermakers	74	12	26	68	38	51	36	49
Bootmakers	89	6	15	71	21	24	68	76
Bricklayers	206	31	14	31	45	22	161	78
Brickmakers	81	2	14	88	16	20	65	80
Butchers	199	17	68	80	85	43	114	57
Carpenters	576	176	108	38	284	49	292	51
Ironmongers	63	1	4	80	5	8	58	92
Painters and Paperhangers	245	64	21	25	85	35	160	65
Plasterers	117	10	21	68	31	26	86	74
Plumbers	112	18	12	40	30	27	82	73
Printers	87	10	8	44	18	21	69	79
Stonemasons	134	10	8	44	18	13	116	87
Woolclassers, Felmongers &c.	55	-	79	100	79	144	-24	-44
Coach Trades	46	14	43	75	57	124	-11	-24
Other Registered Occupations	271	54	63	54	117	43	154	57
Total Labour Aristocracy	**2703**	**464**	**593**	**56**	**1057**	**39**	**1646**	**61**
Non-Aristocracy								
Carters	348	-	-	-	-	-	348	100
Clerks, &c.	258	17	14	45	31	12	227	88
Cooks	314	33	153	82	186	59	128	41
Dairy Hands	66	-	-	-	-	-	66	100
Engine Drivers and Engineers*	270	11	39	78	50	19	220	81
Farm Hands	473	20	459	96	479	101	-6	-1
Firemen	99	3	7	70	10	10	89	90
Gardeners	155	79	64	45	143	92	12	8
Generally usefulls	762	257	345	57	602	79	160	21
Grooms	338	24	55	70	79	23	259	77
Grocers	86	6	3	33	9	10	77	90
Labourers	3285	204	313	61	517	16	2768	84
Miners	1200	-	301	100	301	25	899	75
Quarrymen	56	19	19	50	38	68	18	32
Store Keepers	96	23	7	23	30	31	66	69
Station hands and Bushmen	763	-	654	100	654	86	109	14
Tailors	59	3	16	84	19	32	40	68
Canvassers	19	169	28	14	197	1037	-178	-937
Married Couples	42	28	228	89	256	610	-214	-510
Shearers	29	-	210	100	210	724	-181	-624
Bridge Hands	16	-	57	100	57	356	-41	-256
Other Registered Occupations	708	90	108	55	198	28	510	72
Total Reg'd Non-Aristocracy	**9442**	**986**	**3080**	**76**	**4066**	**43**	**5376**	**57**
Non-Aristocracy N. E. L.**								
Drivers	-	29	57	66	86	-	-86	-
General Servants	-	30	155	84	185	-	-185	-
Miners (fossickers from Sydney)	-	-	2989	100	2989	-	-2989	-
Miners (Fossickers from elsewhere)	-	-	1527	100	1527	-	-1527	-
Village Settlements	-	-	322	100	322	-	-322	-
Other Occupations	-	49	81	62	130	-	-130	-
Total Non-Registered	**-**	**108**	**5131**	**98**	**5239**	**-**	**-5239**	**-**
Total Labour	**12145**	**1558**	**8804**	**85**	**10362**	**85**	**1783**	**15**

Modified from
Sources: Occupational Data from New South Wales (1894).
Classification as 'Labour Aristocracy' From Markey (1988).

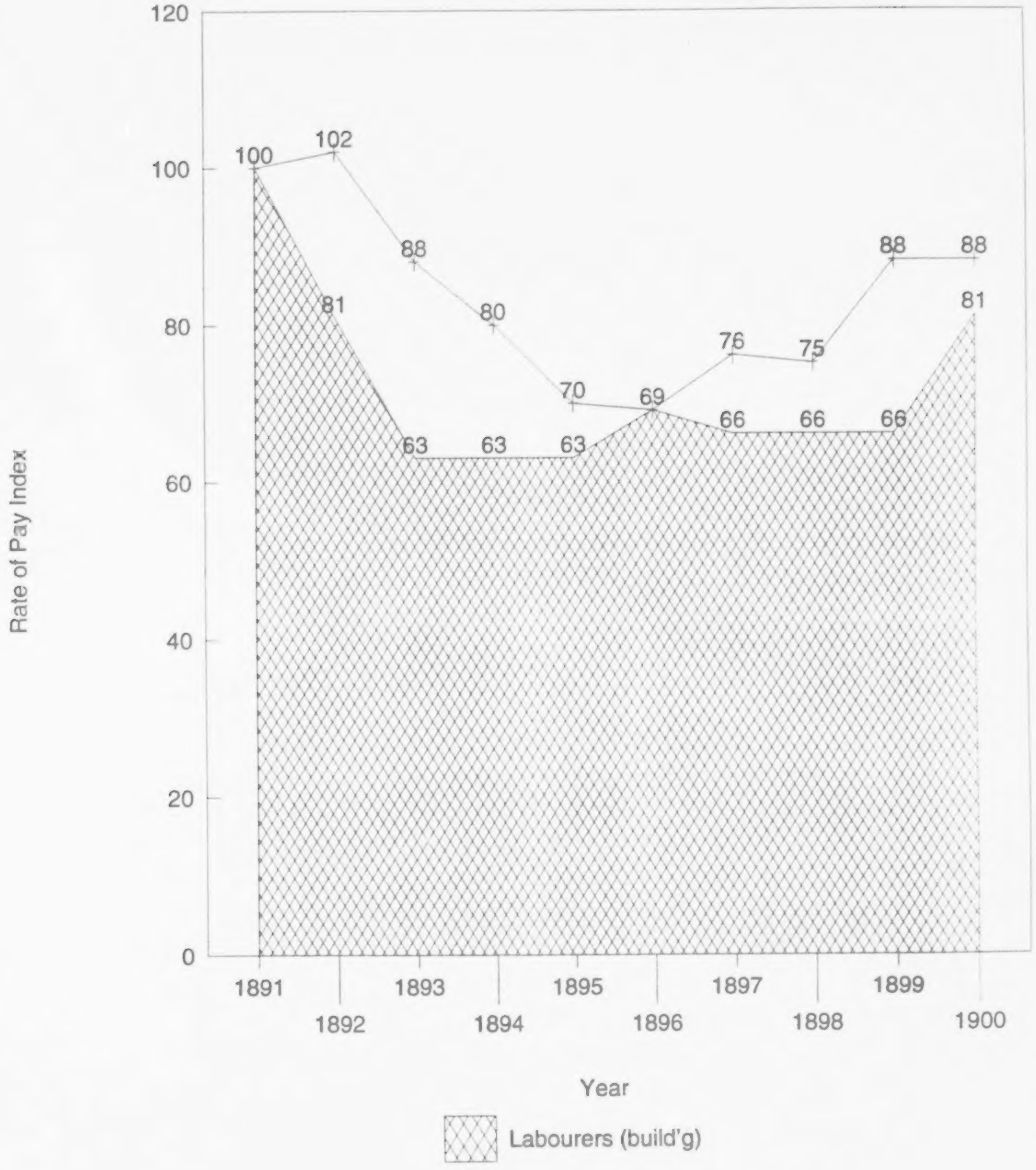
* Engineers are classified in the 'Occupations Sent Out' portion of the Labour Bureau Annual Report as 'Engineers, Drivers, &c.'. These may not be the same as the Mechanical Engineers included Markey's Labour Aristocracy classification so they have been categorised as 'Non Aristocracy'.

** N. E. L. stands for 'Not Explicitly Listed' at the NSW Labour Bureau as an occupation held by bureau registrants.

Figure 4. 3

Indices of Rates of Pay for

Non-Manufacturing Labourers, Victoria
1891-1900



Source: Modified from Macarthy (1988: 64)

In August 1893, the New South Wales Under-Secretary for Mines suggested, in a minute to the Premier, that a number of unemployed may be usefully occupied in `fosicking' for gold, and a 1,000 pound reward was offered to anyone who found a payable alluvial gold field (New South Wales, 1894: 1061). 4, 516 men, representing more than 37% of total registrations for the year, were given miners rights and rail passes to areas where they could prospect. During the following year, 10, 718 men representing 79% of registrations were sent to dig for gold (New South Wales, 1899: 861).

For a large proportion of Sydney's unemployed, the bureau was a channel through which the government of the day acted to disperse potential for radical critique. The bureau was empowered not only by its role as facilitator of job opportunities, but also by the fact that it had responsibility for issuing relief rations. In this way civil control was exacted on jobless workers who remained in the city, as well as those sent mining whose families were left behind dependent on relief rations.

Civil Control, Networks of Surveillance, Administrative Categorisation and Worker `Responsibilization': Extension of the `Idea of the State' and a Subtle Change in Class Relations.

Creer's organization was subjected to a commission of inquiry in 1893 examining charges of mismanagement related to job placement functions and dispensing of rail tickets.[14] A reading of Creer's testimony reveals The Bureau as a small autocratically governed organisation within which Creer could indeed make rules and regulations `as experience taught' him. Creer's life had been characterized by a strong sense of rugged individualism and a proclivity to temperance. He arrived in Australia broke, switched careers from carpenter to clerk, went into business for himself, became mayor of Newcastle, a member of the N. S. W. Legislative Assembly for Newcastle and was a long-term member of the Temperance League. Creer was Sydney's version of Melbourne's Colonel Goldstein. The significance of this should be seen in terms of the interpretive structures brought to bear through Creer and institutionalised as part of early government intervention in labour market operation.

Disciplinary techniques employed by a reforming middle class to enhance the making of **responsible** workers, were shifted from a personal, **face-to-face**, contact between reformers and workers, to an **abstracted** contact mediated by a `government' organisation. Officially, The Bureau had been established to pursue worker's interests. It was there to find jobs for workers and to find workers for jobs. By appearing as such, that is, as a government organ with workers' interests at heart, the bureau was a `face' of the `state', expanded to encompass `honest' workers and to exclude loafers. The bureau became a manifestation of a contract of civility, exchanging access to job opportunities in private as well as public sectors for sober compliance to the `realistic' demands of an ailing economy. The idea of `the state' as a benign entity had been well established in the organised left angling for parliamentary rather than radical reform. Extension of the labour bureau's services to jobless workers enabled the government to be directly seen by skilled and unskilled workers alike as facilitating market relations, an entity representing congealed interests of workers and employers. To be admitted to this fraternity of interests, workers were to be well behaved citizens.

As an apparatus for facilitating relations of mutual economic benefit to employers and workers, the bureau took on the legitimate task of ensuring that workers adhered to correct codes of behaviour implict in the market exchange contract. The bureau enacted `the state' as a representation of a congealed interest, so long as that interest was conceptualised as that belonging to a **civil** juridical subject wishing to **freely** engage in an employment contract. The Bureau discouraged and punished manifestations of **private** orientations that threatened sovereignty of what was then thought of as rational behaviour of a `good' worker.

Disciplinary activity pursued by The Bureau during the 1890's established it as a **transitional** form of liberal governance. Creer's wide mandate to facilitate labour market interactions was pursued with the enthusiasm and intent of private benevolenteers such as Sydney's Reverend Langley and Melbourne's Colonel Goldstein. However, the social position of Creer's organisation was not one of mere benevolence, bringing a reforming middle class into hands-on contact with the task of making workers responsible citizens. Rather, Creer's organisation was a government enterprise. As a government concern, it could enact administrative partitions between good and bad workers as disciplinary devices that could be seen by workers as in their own interests. This change in the social identity of relief provider brought about a subtle but potent change in the mechanism that made dividing real workers from loafers a process of making workers responsible citizens.

Administrative partitions,[15] established the idle as a category of applicant who should be sent compulsorily to work. Endres and Cook (1986) argued that these categorisation procedures enabled the bureau to use establishment of work willingness as a method of instilling an accustomed orientation to casual work. While this may have been the case, establishment of official categories linked to popular conceptions of idleness as degeneration also enabled establishment of social identities of legitimate workers. Illegitimate workers drank, committed petty offences, argued with their superiors and were inflexible as to the kinds of work they did.

The Bureau began dispensing of relief rations in its first year of operation. Registrants and their families applied to the bureau for rations and various aspects of applicant's identities, including address of landlord, were given to inspectors who `instituted inquiries' (New South Wales 1894: 1063). In addition to its own `in-house' inspectors, the network of surveillance and punishment already established by the New South Wales Police Force was appropriated for use. Bureau access to official police records effectively deputized the New South Wales Police Force as an investigative organ of the bureau. Civil misconduct meant not only arrest, but for many, denial of access to job opportunities and relief rations. Police reports received by the bureau, contained identities of illegitimate ration applicants or recipients:

> These [Police] reports are of men registered at the bureau, who, having been arrested for the various offences as specified, have had their tickets taken from them by the arresting constable and forwarded to this Department, with a report on each case. The loss of the tickets deprive them of all benefits at the Bureau, and the tickets are not returned to the owners for periods ranging from one week to four weeks, and then only on promise of reform (New South Wales, 1893: 963).

Offences reported by the police included drunkenness, theft, riotous behaviour and assault, indecency, begging and vagrancy, offensive language, breaking and entering (suspected persons), `pretences', wife desertion and beating, deserting from the Navy, gambling, embezzlement, and breach of the publicans act. The loafer had all the characteristics of a nuisance, perhaps even of a Larikin. Men refusing to take the work offered were similarly suspended from rail ticket receipt as well as having their sustenance rations cancelled.

Although it could be argued that Creer's proclivity to temperance was an aberration causing him to cancel bureau registration of workers found by the Police to be drunk, it is also evidence that middle class reformism in general found a very potent method of enacting itself through bureau surveillance. Labour bureaux established throughout Australia during the late nineteenth century became, in effect, part of a configuration of penalties exacted on workers to obtain appropriate civil behaviour. New and more sophisticated techniques of surveillance and punishment enabled through the bureau marked a moment in a much longer struggle between urban citizenry and the police stretching at least as far back as 1841 (Sturma, 1981).

The New South Wales Labour Bureau's relationship with the Police force was also practiced in other Colonies. Melbourne's Railways Labour Bureau registrants had their bona fides checked through police records. Classification of recipient as bona fide or doubtful was aligned with classification as having been involved in civil disobedience (Victoria, Board of Inquiry on Unemployment, 1900). Brisbane's labour bureau, also responsible for administering relief, employed police as a latent threat against misrepresentation as well as an agency to ensure that assistance was given to the verifiably civil worker. J. Brenan, Officer in Charge of Brisbane's Labour Bureau comments in his 1893 annual Report:

> To ascertain a correct history of the applicants for relief, each one has to furnish a form filled up and signed by the local sergeant or constable of police. I believe it to be the best means of obtaining reliable information; and take this opportunity of recording the most valuable assistance given by the Police, and the conscientious painstaking manner in which they perform a most unpleasant duty. In Brisbane no relief is given to single men (Queensland, 1894: 720).

Regulation of access to Bureau benefits such as relief rations and rail tickets represented another important departure in reformative technique from other 1890's methods of enacting civility such as Langley's workhouse or Victoria's Leongatha. An applicant for relief could be known as a loafer quite efficiently without the need for elaborate exercises in wood chopping or stone breaking. All the bureau needed to do to sift loafers from workers was to hold out the offer of a job or to browse police reports.

A method of knowing the idler that was far more extensive in coverage than intense investigation by friendly visiting had been established. Intensive investigation of relief applications were also made by inspectors who paid visits to applicants' home addresses and `institute[d] inquiries' (New South Wales 1894: 1063). Personal character knowledge was important for correct classification of registrants as being fit for purposes required by an employer, however, a far more accurate method of loafer distinction could be enabled through job offers, the specifics of which led the bureau to deem the person suitable or not.

The English social reformer[16] and economist John Hobson (1896: 129) doubted the efficacy of detailed inquiries to be undertaken by labour bureaux, for the not insubstantial reason that they tended to induce `distrust.' Validity of this reasoning seems to have been born out in New South Wales. In 1897 a petition from `certain electors and citizens of the Colony of New South Wales,' was presented to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly containing no less than 1,051 signatures, complaining that:

> The labour Bureau is prejudicial to the interests of **bona fide** workers of the Colony, inasmuch that as an institution it Pauperizes labour ... As an institution it has utterly failed to ameliorate the conditions of the workers in whose interests it was ostensibly established (Certain Electors and Citizens of the Colony Against [The New South Wales] Government Labour Bureau, 1897: 1065, emphasis added).

Through the bureau, Creer pursued an anti-pauperization agenda. The centrality of loafer discovery to the bureau's operation can be seen throughout its early annual reports as well as Reports of the Commissioners for Labour. Loafers became loafers due to indiscriminate relief. The taint of pauperism seemed latent in working class men and became manifest in loafing that was stimulated by non-work tested sustenance:

> Unfortunately it is a fact that the effect of receiving relief on many hitherto manly dispositions has been deplorable, in that their sense of independence is gradually being sapped and is being allowed by themselves to drift away, and in its place is slowly but surely, asserting itself all the attributes of what go to make what is known as the "loafer" pure and simple (New South Wales, 1894: 1062).

Creer went on to recommend the establishment of labour colonies designed specifically for the reformation of loafers. According to Creer there were between 400 and 500 confirmed loafers, in Sydney at the time, who are `daily seen in parks sleeping their indolent lives away' after `the too free use of strong drink [which] has made them lazy, idle and degraded' (New South Wales,.1894: 1065). Creer proposed that for some loafers, colonization might restore lost civility and for others to instil industriousness for the first time. Ostracism of loafers and recommended incarceration in houses of industrial reform were not exclusively the domain of the conservative right. Seventeen Years later, W. F. Schey, a former railway unionist and now Director of the New South Wales Labour Bureau, recommended that:

> This class should be charged before a magistrate, and if they failed to show that they had honestly worked, or tried to obtain work, within a reasonable time before their appearance in court, they should be committed for twelve months to the compulsory labour establishment; and if unreformed at the end of that time, recommitted, without release, for a further term of two years. ... [Thus] transplanting some of the city weeds to an environment where, in time, their nature may be changed, and they may become a desirable asset to the State in place of an incubus, an expense, and a menace to the future of our country (New South Wales, 1911: 624-625).

By 1906 a Labour Farm had been established at Randwick where men applying for relief sustenance would be given work in return for it. Families applying who had a male head would only be granted relief on the condition that the male head went to work on the farm where he would be fed and lodged and given a small amount of money in return for the doing of whatever task he was directed to do. It would seem that this farm operated under similar conditions as Wilhelmsdorf. Skilled men could graduate to become supervisors and have access to improved meals, accommodation and pay (New South Wales, 1911: 621-622). Misbehaviour would result in dismissal. According to Schey, at the end of their stint, inmates `are in good trim to face the world afresh, and make another effort to again place their feet on the ladder leading to economic independence' (New South Wales, 1911: 622).

Although Loafer gaols were never established, they formed a distinctive category in discourse that gave shape to administrative arrangements designed to treat people who were differentiated from loafers. Loafers were not an important category only in terms of what was being done to them. Their discursive identities were being given administrative coherence in a centralised state organization. Involvement of states in labour markets and philanthropic enterprise through labour bureaux marked an important shift in Australian liberalism as it expanded to encompass legitimacy of government action in encouragement of independence of waged labour (Campbell, 1976: 30). The full weight of legitimate `state' power was brought to bear on regulation of working class behaviour to bounded non-politicised independence.

Misbehaviour could be interpreted as incorrigibility, the consequences of which were denial of sustenance and being thrust into a despised underclass.

Conclusion

Unemployment emerged in the later part of the 19th Century as a legitimate problem to be addressed by benevolent administrators and government agencies alike. The `bourgeois benevolence' disciplinary regime' involved work testing that was accomplished by private benevolent agencies as a means to separate the essentially idle from honest workers. The problem of idleness for benevolenteers expanded from its, predominantly pre-nineties, form of allowing labour markets to `naturally' instil work discipline for able-bodied men, to encompass active reinvigoration of workers' independence.

Government labour bureaux were also concerned to discipline the idle by preventing essential loafers from receiving rations or rail passes, but methods of surveillance to detect and define idleness afforded a far more sophisticated and efficient technique. Labour markets became primary lenses through which loafers could be known and punished accordingly. Refused job offers were penalised with suspension or cancellation of bureau registration required for ration receipt. Making the unruly responsible was addressed through police reports. Police forces were co-opted to extend in range and quality, the detection of loafers. Both these mechanisms were forms of work testing. However, unlike private organisations, a system of fines and suspensions was designed to reform loafers and those in grave danger of becoming `hard cases'. Civil misbehaviour of workers could be punished with a view to reforming rather than alienating loafers. Though the figure of the `essential loafer' still held a high profile in discourse surrounding work testing, the figure of the `endangered worker' began to rise in prominence.

Jobless workers endangered by the threat of becoming loafers, represented the emergence of a new problem of idleness. Jobless workers, particularly relatively unskilled ones, were a potential source of mobilization for the radical left, and were in danger of losing their previously strong commitment to labour force participation. Government intervention in labour market activity through the Labour bureau, did in fact help many jobless workers to find employment. However, they also addressed emergent problems of idleness by dispersing large numbers of urban workers into gold mining areas, and erected an efficient means of disciplining civil misbehaviour through denial of access to job opportunities and denial of subsistence rations.

Perhaps most importantly, labour bureau activity manifested and expanded the `idea of the state' to encompass legitimate labour market intervention. The organised political and industrial left was ascendent. New ideas of social responsibility between employers and workers were being developed. Industrial arbitration, workers accident compensation, shorter working hours and minimum wages were all items on agendas for political debate during the period. Alfred Deakin articulated emergent (though paternalistic) notions of an industrial society to include workers when he wrote in 1890:

> Instead of the State being any longer regarded as an object of hostility to the labourer, it should now become identified with an interest in his works, and in all workers, extending them its sympathy and protection, and watching over their welfare and prosperity (Alfred Deakin in **The Age**, 10 June 1890, quoted in Macintyre, 1985: 40).

Although labour bureau services were partially methods of responding to the emergent left's demands for economic justice, they were also, as Creer's newspaper commentary indicated, a method of avoiding radical change. Relief rations administered through the bureau became a mechanism to represent `the state' as encompassing workers' interests, while at the same time ensuring that those interests remained consonant with appropriate forms of civil behaviour required for orderly conduct of economic life.

Labour Bureaux enabled contemporary problems of idleness to be constituted rationally in relation to labour markets. The nexus between labour markets and sustenance provision had been vaguely established through earlier forms of work testing but received full articulation in bureau arrangements. Land settlement schemes manifested rugged rural individualism as a theme in independence, something it shared more in common with work house arrangements than with bureau organisation of unemployment. Common to various manifestations of each was the use of the identity of `loafer' to dissipate social protest aimed directly at the operation of free labour markets - markets with which governments were previously generally reluctant to interfere. Although unemployment benefit as a statutory right did not emerge until 1945, the basic mechanisms needed for its introduction and conceptualization were established in the 1890's.

With exception of fears for potentially `lost' youth (which, didn't gain widespread currency until the 1930's), problems of idleness, and methods of addressing them through work tested unemployment relief schemes remained generally unchanged until the depression of the 1930's. At that point, essential loafing became almost completely submerged in problems of idleness that summoned workers as degraded through joblessness. Among other factors, the shear extremity of joblessness experienced during the depression forced a re-evaluation of conceptions of right to benefit. By the end of the depression, the only acceptable way of addressing problems of social integration stimulated by joblessness was seen as extension of a state administered unemployment benefit system, to which workers would have access by right. Extension of `right' to benefit completed extension of the `idea of the state' as an organ through which social integration through industry could be achieved. Through extension of benefit as `right', `the state' as a constellation of social interests, abstracted from any particular interests, brought workers together in a relationship of mutual support in unemployment. Workers were now benefactors of workers, problems of idleness became generalizable to those of employed workers, whereas previously they were problems primarily for government and private benevolenteers. Problems and solutions were turned back to the place from where they stemmed and became the property of wage earners. Loafers, became not merely nuisances to be discouraged but were made direct enemies of those supporting them. Parliamentary and government personnel responsible for economic steering still retained control of precise definition of work testing. In this way, the Federal government established authority to define behaviours that constituted legitimate labour force participation. It was after all merely acting on behalf of an `industrial community' expanded to include jobless workers. Alan Jordan's comment that the principles of work testing were `constitutive of ... the whole society' may be seen as an outcome of the extension of the `idea of the state' to embrace workers' interests through definition of what those interests were. Chapter 5 addresses events and themes emergent during the 1930's. The development of changing problems of idleness, methods of dealing with them and social subjects thus constituted are traced for their importance in establishment of the `industrial citizenship' disciplinary regime.

End Notes

1. A `Ticket of Leave' was a probationary instrument enabling convicts to enjoy limited rights of free employment and pursuit of enterprise.

2. See Coghlan (1969) for discussion of various ways in which nineteenth century immigration was controlled according to perceptions of demand for labour, and for discussion of various responses to demonstrations of workers calling for the instigation of government relief works.

3. Repealed unactivated in 1868.

4. See for example Castles (1985) and Connell and Irving (1980).

5. Morrissey's (1978: 293) discussion of the complex web of relationships among the Ned Kelly Gang's sympathisers described a Larikin thus: `Swaggering gait and riotous behaviour typify the character of the bush larikin. Strapped moleskin trousers, gaudy waistcoats, high heeled boots, wide brimmed hats, with the chin-strap neatly tucked under the nose , a characteristic destined to become the mark of the Kelly sympathiser, were distinctive features of the larikin style of dress.'

6. A fumigator was used to disinfect Labour House residents on admission.

7. See Hobson (1895) for discussion of proposals and operations of farm co-operative and colonies in late nineteenth century England.

8. For a complete discussion of Lane's expedition, its fate and the events that surrounded its formation, see Souter (1968). It is also worth noting that Caroline Chisholm promoted Wollongong as a site for what must have been one of the earliest forms of co-operative settlement of unemployed workers and their families.

9. The Bureau was accommodate in a building at the Junction of George and Pitt Streets near Sydney's Railway Square. This location was probably as far from the NSW Parliament buildings in Macquarie Street as could be obtained while remaining broadly within the inner city limits of the day.

10. Probably around the end of 1902.

11. Manxmen were dwellers on Britain's Isle of Mann. Creer had made a sojourn home to tell his former compatriots that he had done well in his time in the Colonies.

12. It is impossible to say that all people sent on to jobs of a particular occupational type by the labour bureau had registered with the bureau in that occupation. It is quite likely, particularly in some of the occupations classified as `non-aristocracy', that some shifting between occupations occurred. It is also difficult to say with precision what the numbers of unreferred registrants were. As Creer notes in his annual report, many registrants found work independently of the bureau, and many of those neglected to inform the bureau that they'd found work. Further, Creer notes that there were double registrations but gives no indication of how many there were.

13. Figure 4. 2 compares wage indices of Victorian building and farm labourers over the period 1891-1900. Except for the year 1896, farm labourers wages remained much closer to their 1891 levels than did building workers. Macarthy (19??: 64) shows wage

indices for twelve occupations showing that over the period 1891-1900, urban occupations suffered less wage decreases than did rural occupations. The applicability of these indices to the present discussion rests on the assumption that comparisons between NSW urban and rural workers would yield no differences to those found in Victoria.

14. Most questioning was directed at the possibility that the bureau was having a depressive effect on wage levels and was encouraging `casualization' of labour (New South Wales, 1893).

15. Categories of labour bureau registrants included able bodied and willing to work, able bodied and not willing to work (loafers) and the old the weak and the infirm. These were explicitly set out in 1899 and 1900 Reports of the Unemployed Advisory Board. See New South Wales (1900) for Advisory Board Reports.

16. Garraty (1978: 123) argued that Hobson was more a social reformer than an economist from his interest in social issues which included how to deal with the unemployed.

Chapter 5: The Great Depression and Right to be Unemployed

Introduction

This chapter covers forms of work testing enacted during the Great Depression as well as political debates leading up to establishment of right to benefit in 1944. It is argued that work test discipline and discourse on unemployment constructed the essential loafer of bourgeois benevolence well into the Great Depression years. The first part of this chapter establishes that labour colonies, police reports and work for subsistence continued to be widely practiced methods of separating real workers from loafers. The principle difference from earlier periods was the increased prevalence of state organised relief schemes. The second part of the chapter argues that a shift in the problem of idleness occurred during the Great Depression in response to a motivation crisis perceived by trade union leaders, politicians, academics and benevolent administrators. Real workers were in danger of losing their commitment to paid work.

Together with the administrative difficulty of enacting a face-to-face discipline accomplished during earlier years, this perception of motivation crisis produced a subtle change in the problem of idleness. Toward the end of the Depression it was apparent that the loafer was no longer a primary concern. Rather, it was feared that the discouraged worker could potentially become a permanent feature of Australian society unless something was done to guarantee a degree of security in employment, and failing that, security of subsistence. Right to unemployment benefit would offer the real worker a place in an industrial community that considered joblessness a legitimate reason for collective support.

The commodity form as an organising social principle had been endangered with the threat of widespread joblessness. The communist movement was actively engaged in leading demonstrations and recruiting workers in dole ques and at relief work sites. However, Keynsian economic thought provided a solution that promised to retrieve the economy from its crisis and at the same time keep capitalism intact. Right to benefit offered the worker a degree of security from starvation and most importantly promised to keep the worker away from the communist threat.

The Right to be Unemployed

Beilharz (1989: 138) argued that colonial liberalism gave way to a newer `labourist' liberalism in the wake of the industrial upheaval of the 1890's. This was a catalyst to enable forms of state intervention to accomplish higher degrees of worker independence within industrial capitalism. Pursuit of improvement of industrial conditions through wage and working hours improvement, industrial arbitration, worker compensation and factory safety conditions were involved in the labour movement's trajectory toward equality rather than pursuit of social citizenship through extension of direct income support (Castles, 1989).

Through labour bureaux and then Departments of Labour, governments had begun to enter an arena of welfare delivery traditionally the domain of private organizations such as the Benevolent Society and the Charity Organization Society. While during the 1890's there had been a partial shift in the discourse of idleness enabling worklessness to be conceived as unemployment, it took the Great Depression to shift the `essential' feature to a less dominant position in the discursive arena within which worklessness was contained. The movement toward categories of idleness — within which an economically produced pathological condition would obtain dominance — began in the 1890's and received massive confirmation during the Great Depression of the 1930's. The process occurred in two stages. The first involved the necessity of constructing administrative machinery to alleviate joblessness which was threatening massive disruption. The second involved post hoc interpretation of demoralization arising from joblessness conceived as unemployment.

During the Depression of the 1930's the problem of idleness increased in salience as a problem for governments to deal with. The sheer weight of joblessness literally crowded out the mechanical possibility of operating intensifications of civil society in forms such as houses of industry or Leongatha type labour camps. The scale of relief administration demanded expansions of efficient techniques that would simultaneously maintain the veracity of worker autonomy and alleviate crushing poverty threatening legitimacy of industrial capitalism. Idleness became constituted as a threat to working class identity and work testing a confirmation of worker integrity.

Older conceptions of essential idleness still found currency, particularly among private relief organizations (Spenceley, 1985). However out of the hurley burly of relief measures concocted during the Great Depression came a discovery of idleness as a pathological plight emergent from workers' dependence on waged labour.

Unemployment threatened a contradiction of independence of waged labour. Workers must be free to contract as workers with labour to exchange but were dependent on there being an employer to do so with. The dignity of labour was at stake.

The legitimacy of forms of relief measures were principally cast in terms of the necessity to maintain the veracity of `worker.' The dignity of labour was being undermined by forced idleness. Work testing vis a vis labour in exchange for sustenance, as well as through offers of higher grade employment, was considered to offer opportunity of providing a stanchion to those morally endangered. The parallel but less prevalent epitome of essential loafer still found currency in bodies of political dissidents who were confronted with work test techniques deliberately utilized, as they were in the 1890's, to disrupt formation of collective protest.

Large scale assumption of state responsibility for poverty relief as a functional necessity during the 1930s sped up transportation of the problem of idleness from a predominantly (though not exclusively) intimate relation between classes to an abstracted one vis a vis the state. By the time the Depression was in decline, legitimacy of state responsibility for unemployment relief had been firmly established but the **terms** of an abstraction of class relations through unemployment relief became the subject of a now intensely politicised struggle over the forms that relief would take. Terms of that struggle were principally constituted in the propriety of Federal over State administration as well as whether or not relief by right would be financed through general tax revenue or through individual contributions. These were issues represented in discussions of substantial state organised unemployment insurance dating back to at least 1910 in Australia.

Judging from the Minutes of Evidence collected by the Federal Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security, the principle of work testing was a non-issue. `Unemployment' required establishment of labour force participation and labour bureaux organized job offers proved as far back as 1891 to be an acceptably efficient means of establishing `worker' as an identity.

The legacy of the Depression had left the `problem of idleness' to be constituted through the figure of the `degraded worker.' While the essential loafer remained as a subordinate category, acquisition by the state of legitimate responsibility to define the characteristics of the loafer enabled potential for constitution of `loafer' as a working class enemy.

Role of Idleness in relief policy

The figure of `degraded worker' ran through discourse on relief measures at several, but not all, of its levels. The essential idler still managed to survive as a parallel but overshadowed object of administration.

Methods of unemployment relief during the Depression comprised an array of schemes, primary of which were straight provision of sustenance (in goods and or in cash), `work for sustenance,' relief work, and rural training and self establishment (the latter being of relatively minor importance). All were either explicitly or implicitly work tested. The object of relief in most programmes adopted could be characterized as `degraded worker' and confirmed through work testing.

In Queensland through both conservative and Labor governments, food relief without work was only provided to applicants who were physically incapable of manual labour (Costar, 1974: 38). The conservative Moore Government refused "dole" money on the grounds that moral degradation would ensue from charity receipt (Costar, 1974). In the words of William Gall, Home Office Under-secretary, "individuality and independence are not sapped and destroyed as they are by drawing rations and living in idleness" (Colwell, 1977: 28). The New South Wales Lang Government, though considered a populist left rebel, even in the Labor movement at the time,[1] was unable to prevent appropriation of loafing by relief administrators in their quests to ensure that only `good' citizens received support (Walker, 1986b). Victoria's Argyle Government instituted a policy whereby all sustenance must be worked for as:

> the unemployed desire work. They do not wish to receive sustenance ... we must find some kind of work for the unemployed rather than leaving them in a state of idleness. The dole only encourages these men to remain morally and economically worthless (Watts, 1972: 31).

Imperiled dignity of labour was also a theme directed specifically at youth, but with a slight twist. The virtues of Labour were to be instilled for the first time. Youth became the embodiment of a lost generation that would need to be actively kept in touch with the **prospect** of waged work. New South Wales had Scheyville (previously Pit Town), in 1933, Victoria established a youth training farm in Bendigo, Tasmania established its Tewksbury Farm scheme and Western Australia's Boys Employment League sent boys to Ugly Men's Farm at Wokalup, and the Chandler Farm at Roselands (Australia, 1934).

South Australia's Kuitpo established in 1930 by Reverend S. Forsyth was a rural training complex wherein `colonists' (as opposed to inmates) were:

> trained in all branches of farming. Each week a "duties list" is posted and the men are changed to different gangs for variety of experience. Clearing and wood cutting is an important branch and the men must learn to be good axemen. Then there is the hauling of timber and sawing for building, and other purposes; gardening, ploughing and planting, boring and well-sinking. Then sheep, poultry and pigs, the cows and the dairy must be looked after. The engines, too, call for a skilled man, but also the butchering and small goods making. At the Kuitpo Products shop in Pitt St, small goods can be purchased. Pork sausages can be especially recommended. Poultry, butter, eggs, tomato sauce, pickles and vegetables can be bought, also orders for garden stakes, wood and rustic furniture may be given. Other duties are building, boot repairing, blacksmith and car repairs, rustic work, lorry driving and road making, and last but not least, the cooking and kitchen duties. The experience is indeed varied, and in all branches of work the men are trained in a business-like and scientific way. (Forsyth, 1933: 3)

Ida Forsyth (the reverend's wife) paraded a tirade of metaphors to establish the evils of handouts as sapping youthful spirit and asks `can any country afford to treat its young men so and turn them into a race of idle spongers?' Kuitpo was a place where workers, particularly young ones, could be **made** before degenerating to a hated non-commodity - idle spongers. While the humanism of protestant benevolence probably kept tears in the eyes of those watching vigorous youth become `idle spongers' (from as far away as England (English Friends of Kuitpo, 1933)) the internal condition seems to have been represented as a potentially permanent fall from grace. Still present here more than in the manifestations of earlier colony types is the theme of corrupted innocence, youth wasted. Independence here is the saving of a liberal moral divide between the unrepentant evil of idleness (Adam eating the forbidden apple of sustenance rations) and productive salvation (Adam planting orchards).

Kuitpo was not just for youth. Forsyth gave evidence to the South Australian Select Committee established to examine Relief works in 1939, to the effect that Kuitpo was a place were one would recover a lost soul. He was not above camouflaging the fact that Kuitpo was for unemployed people to achieve his aim:

> `The other day I sent out a man about my own age who had some domestic troubles and lost his position. He was really a burden on his relatives. I put it to him that he should take a working Holiday and he is now doing very well' (South Australia, 1939:6).

Social relations of idleness were expanded to encompass youth as a specific category which prompted a further panel in disciplinary partitioning. Youth became an endangered species. "Lost" was a term often used and contained two meanings, the first being lost from **us**, the second being directionlessness. Both congealed in the bodies of metaphorical waifs imbued with criminal and languid hedonism. One Pamphleteer appealed to the captains of industry to `Save our Youth from Moral Debasement' (Henley, 1933). Mackinolty (1981: 102) recounts another author's glimpse of some youth's flight to hedonism:

> Trios of ascetic-looking louts too languid to spit loll at street corners. Women shoppers trudge by. The Williamstown beach ... is strewn ... with expensive-looking, sun ripened bodies of sussoes -young Adonises on unemployment relief.

The youth are made to stand out with contrast drawn to the figure of a haggard woman trudging by with all too light loads of groceries. These youths' souls did not need reformation (corrupted goodness) or alteration (converted evil), but rather active involvement of identity **formation**. The New South Wales Department of Labour and Industry noted that among objectives of its Young Citizens' Associations was to `profitably and pleasurably utilize the hours of leisure and unemployment' and to `help make themselves useful citizens' (New South Wales, 1933: 4). That department's **Report of Vocational Guidance Survey of Unemployed Young Men** (1938: 4) found that youth could be divided between those who accepted unemployment with a certain `manliness and retained their sense of want in a job', and others who suffered from a `broken morale' and were `quite content to continue to depend on relief bounty.' The latter were the generation lost.

The `problem of idleness' during the Great Depression was how to maintain idleness as the opposite of independence - the opposite of citizenship. A report on unemployment requested by Lyons in 1932 ready for the June Premiers Conference stated the case quite succinctly:

> We hold that measures of immediate alleviation should be so devised as to keep the social structure together... In considering ways of meeting the present emergency, we have assumed that these must be consistent with the continuance and full activity of individual enterprise (Australia 1932: 15-16).

For the first time, idleness became a problem of such proportions that it literally threatened the social order. Youth could be lost, and adult male workers could relinquish dignity. These were at once subjects of relief and discursively constituted objects instituted as warrants for work test policy.

The figure of the loafer still lurked in shadows, leaned on shovels, and scampered merrily in the bush on extended `walkabout.' Although the discouraged worker was predominant as a mainstay of political discourse, grass roots administrators still found loafers under the light of investigation. Police were used extensively to administer sustenance. Their extensive network of stations and investigative skills made them ideally suited to use as emergency agents of benevolent state policy. Walker (1986: 76) comments on police administration of means and work tests:

> When not the merest Minty could escape observation, police could well enforce community standards. As moral guardians they refused relief to couples living in sin, and threatened to cut off drinkers (not merely drunkards), billiards players, and picture show goers. On occasion the police expressly justified their having called certain unemployed wasters and loafers. In their opinion a man who refused work offered at less than the basic wage was a loafer. They were apt to call those who complained or who organized the unemployed, `communists' and `agitators.' (Walker, 1986b: 76)

Police presence played a major role in the administration of the figure of the unemployed subject. Their personal connection with jobless workers implied the direct presence of the state as benevolently coercive. Society needed protection from demoralization, loafing and radical protest. There are countless tales in the literature of experiences of men receiving `track rations' at the hands of police who met them at town gates, gave them rations, stamped their cards and sent them on their way. There were to be no layabouts littering their tidy communities. In New South Wales, track rations were issued at specially authorized police stations, none of which were on the coast in desirable recreational areas. If there was work available where rations were applied for, then the applicant was required to take it in lieu of rations. In 1944 an officer of the Department of Social Services recollected that:

> "Track Rationers" ... were most commonly seen along country roads and pick[ed] up odd jobs here and there and who, the rest of the time, seem[ed] to do nothing but Tramp (Australia, Department of Social Services, 1944: 1).

The constituted loafer stood as a lens through which jobless men were subjected to the gaze of official categories. Knowledge of `track traveller' was also knowledge of `criminal'. The following extract is from a letter written by an unemployed carpenter `on the track, up bush' to his wife in Sydney during February 1932:

> While we were all lying down reading on Sunday afternoon, in company with a Scotsman who was also camping here, we were interrupted by the sudden arrival of a man and boy. After the usual bush greetings of `howdy' etc. he started to converse in quite a friendly manner, and inquired as to where we came from and where we were bound for and when we intended starting etc. After a short period of this talk, he clears a seat amongst our gear and makes himself at home. On making himself comfortable in every respect, our suspicions were aroused by the following questions:- Had we come from Wattle Flats? Had we a grey horse on which we packed our gear? Where we last received the dole? Had we seen anybody of the description given us? and then to top the lot he asked us if we had any guns? Well one glance at our friends boots and trousers verified our suspicions. His tight fitting serge trousers and big boots were those of a policeman. Later on he told us that he was a policeman from a local village, and wanted to **search our gear**. Bill Webster up and asked him to produce his written authority, he then poked out his chest and produced his warrant. He then proceeded to search our packs and clothes, even under our bed clothes. On meeting with no success, he left us tickled to death with a curt good afternoon, and a very disappointed face. Anybody would think that we were three of the forty thieves instead of three jolly prospectors. (Parr, 1981: 121)

The illegitimately unemployed also came to be known via collective encampment. If one searches the records of municipalities at which encampments had been established such as La Peruse, Williamstown, Wollongong, or Port Adelaide, police incursions into these places would be found as commonplace, often provoking violent response. Revolution was felt to be a very real threat. Work testing played a significant role as a screen of legitimate coercion. The body of the idler became inhabited by the soul of the protester. As in the 1890's these bodies were conveniently shifted with work test policy.

Spenceley (1985: 33) argued that unemployment relief policy in the 1930s in Melbourne was substantially oriented toward keeping `heat off radical protest and towards maintaining social stability'. The role of work testing to physically shift politically active workers out of contexts where they could develop collective response to unemployment (demonstration being the only means available to them) can still be seen to be present. Wheatly (1973) argued that N. S. W. afforestation schemes administered to absorb labour acted as an urban clearing mechanism dissipating collective response. Fivedock and Drummoyne's[2] militant unemployed were `left destitute' because they refused afforestation work on the grounds that travel was too great. Land settlement was seen by some to have been undertaken for the explicit purpose of maintaining political stability (Walker, 1936: 176). Broomhill (1978a) argued that the South Australian Government, `resolved to move the single unemployed out of the city' following violent clashes with police, and `with this in mind' provided Forest Reserve and Mt Crawford with inmates (p. 66).

Work testing became less of a means of **simply establishing a loafer** who would then be badly treated (establishing the veracity of self support - an end in itself), than as a device to achieve ends such as the suppression of radical criticism, and, more importantly, the maintenance of the ability of labour markets to operate as markets. Even the Lang Government in 1931 became so concerned at the expense of their `dole' that they replaced the previously communal administrators, relief committees which had trade union members on them, with labour bureau inspectors and police (Richardson, 1984: pp. 82-84).

Conflicts between groups of unemployed and police have provided evidence of sparks of revolutionary potential, and have doubtlessly sparked the imaginations of curious left wing authors. Massive unemployment, after all, provides a context within which privation, repression and stark stratification can be directly connected to the operation of capitalist market enterprise and most importantly of all, experienced collectively. Some relief measures adopted by the various States in the 1930s ironically provided a focus for potential development of collective consciousness. Communist and Unemployed Workers Movement publications of the period spoke loudly of system failure.[3]

As the unemployed could be physically identified and located en masse at relief work sites, and in `dole' queues at sustenance outlets, these were obvious points at which class consciousness could potentially be radicalized by those willing to articulate the virtues of collective response. However, as numerous studies have shown,[4] unemployment was encountered as an inherently individualizing experience, irrespective of collective potential. That the structure of work testing and policed relief measures adopted during the Depression had a repressive effect on the possibility of class consciousness is dramatically illustrated in the response of one Queensland relief worker interrupting a tirade of revolutionary rhetoric expounded by a Communist Party activist:

> Christ mate! I've got a wife and kids to think about. What happens to 'em if I start fightin' back ... Who'll look after 'em then, eh? No mate we're managin' now an stirin' wouldn't help me missus an' kids. (From Frank Huelin's, **Keep Moving**, Interview with Mick Healy, 13th May 1975. Quoted in Costar, 1989:2)

While wage rates and inadequacy of relief provision were the highest points on critical agendas, the taint of slothfullness enacted in work test `questionnaires' was also resented, and during October 1932, enough to spark relief worker strikes and a form-burning campaign in New South Wales. These forms enacted a resented state `eye'. Unemployed relief workers had very little to bargain with and recipients of sustenance even less, however, at least some workers were prepared to express an emergent `wave of resentment' (International Labor Defence, c.1933: 1) and starve in protest at the indignity of the taint of loafer delivered through questionnaires (Wheatley, 1981: 32).

The loafer was not exclusively enacted at lower levels of administration, but still occasionally used as a method of distinguishing between `real worker' and `other' directly at a policy level. A defeated Unemployment Insurance Bill was introduced in Victoria in 1928 by T. Tunnecliffe, Minister for Railways (a former bootmaker and member of the radical socialist movement in the 1890's in Melbourne (Scates, 1981: 180)). After introducing the work test provision that only until suitable work is offered to a contributor shall sustenance allowance be obtainable, Tunnecliffe's shadow parliamentarian,[5] a Mr Greenwood, asked, `You are bringing the unemployable into this Bill?' Tunnecliffe replied:

> Yes, to this extent: we are taking adequate power in the measure to establish a labour farm where men who persistently refuse employment and who manifest indications of a desire to become loafers will be transferred to this farm and given employment under suitable conditions. (Tunnecliffe: 1928: 2)

It would have been interesting to obtain the records of this institution had it been established under a passed bill. In those records we would have found the gender, age, political persuasion, race occupation and inmate behaviour of confirmed loafers. It is sufficient here to make the point that although the discouraged worker was constituted in policy discourse, the figure of the loafer retained the capacity to be applied to particular jobless relief applicants.

It is difficult to say with any certainty that these figures were actually appropriated by targeted recipients. It is more reasonable to suggest that `loafers' were an identity empowering potency of their opposites. The dignified worker received communal as well as political embodiment. Broomhill (1978b: 59) comments that one of his interviewees informed him of a family in Port Adelaide who would deliberately `assumed a hard up attitude' as they were the only ones in the street with an employed household member. However, Broomhill (1978b: 167) also argued that relations between workers and unemployed were characterized by `suspicion and hostility'. Unions were, after all, struggling to maintain living standards. Loafing wasn't the issue. Further, the unemployed began to be regarded as a public embarrassment as the depression began to lift in the late 1930s' (Broomhill, 1978b: 116).

Broomhill's observation points to an emergent potential of state administered unemployment relief. With state appropriation of legitimate relief delivery, the essential loafer received potential ascription as working class enemy. As will be seen in the discourse located in various assessments of unemployment insurance schemes throughout the early twentieth century (discussed below), the idea of collective responsibility for unemployment relief embodied in state organized `insurance schemes' bore with it a **collective** marginalization of illegitimate idleness.

Evaluation, Re-assessment and Unemployment Insurance

The political problem of **right** to relief in Australia was couched in a two-pronged discussion beginning at least as early as 1910 and lasting more than thirty years. Who should be responsible for administration of the scheme to secure such a right? and should it be a contributory scheme or supported from general tax revenue? Resolution eventually required establishment of Federal power in the areas of taxation and labour administration, as well as the achievement of compromise between opposing factions on the contributory issue, during the Second World War.

Governments had substantially replaced private charitable agencies in the area of relief from poverty caused by joblessness during the Depression. All States apart from Western Australia had enacted income (or similar) taxation legislation to raise revenue specifically for work and means tested unemployment relief schemes (Australia, 1931). By doing so, poverty relief fell partially on the shoulders of employed workers. Ostensibly, a right to benefit had been established. However, as these measures had been developed or substantially expanded as residual to private relief agencies, and were of an emergency nature only, **right** to benefit is too strong a sentiment.[6] The fact that the Depression had firmly established the necessity of substantial state participation in unemployment relief measures, contributed to re-establishment of formal right to benefit as an item high on policy agendas. Successful re-establishment required more than surmounting inter-state constitutional problems and inter-party ideological differences, though these necessarily required resolution. A change in the terms of the problem of idleness would also be needed.

State Unemployment Insurance, a Peculiar Thing

In September 1910 the Commonwealth Statistician, G. H. Knibbs, tabled his 108 page report on "Workman's Insurance" addressing his assessment of accident and sickness benefits as well as unemployment insurance schemes operating in various parts of the world at that time. Knibbs argued that unemployment insurance was a positive improvement on older methods of relief. While certainly instructive of the fact that the Australian Federal government was at least aware of the principle that widespread unemployment was unavoidable for workers, Knibbs' report also demonstrated the extent to which immorality of imposition was feared. The problem of idleness was still partially rooted in the figure of the essential loafer.

Part of Knibbs' `wait and see' recommendation was based on the problem of the adequacy of a system to discriminate between applicants with real worker identities and those having `a degeneracy of will' (Knibbs, 1910:69). Although labour bureaux performed work test functions, protection against separation from emergent industrial society `... which by no means is a chimerical danger, is apparently impossible to provide' (Knibbs, 1910:69). Apart from difficulties in construction of machinery,[7] Knibbs' caution about dangers of unemployment insurance alludes to a persistent centrality of the `essential loafer' in state conceptions of legitimate labour market intervention.

The point becomes clearer when Knibbs provides us with a glimpse of potential for achieving working class co-operation that state organized `benefit-as-right' could secure. When referring to advantages of the contributory principle being contemplated in England, Knibbs (1910: 78) argued:

> Contributions from workmen and employers were also deemed necessary. In addition to other reasons, the mass of industrial workers must be directly interested in maintaining the institution; with a "stake" in the country in the form of insurance against evil days, workers are less likely to heed vague promises of an impossible condition of things.

Presumably Knibbs' reference to the `heeding of vague promises' had something to do with fears of radical political movements in Australia. At a time when labour colonies were operating for working class reformation, a potential advantage of a contributory system of unemployment relief would be the welding of workers to capitalism, because they now had a stake in its success. Further, construction of a strong sense of community around the employment **condition** could serve to offset the fact that `such alleviation on the whole tends seriously to remove the spur to effort.' (Knibbs 1910:69). A contributory system able to discriminate between idlers and workers would help bind workers to employment partially because they would have a reason not to claim, and partially because they could literally be turned into `worker police' vis a vis establishment of right to benefit.

Wearing (1989:99) argued that `the full system of government through social security administrations would radically change the shape and form of welfare provision' in Australia during the Twentieth Century up to the end of the Second World War. A major component of that change was politicisation and bureacratization of identities of idleness through work testing.

Queensland, the `Loafers Paradise'

The idea that just state administered insurance involved contributions from workers and employers, bore with it an ascription of society as needing a mechanism to enhance organic co-operation in divisive industrial conditions. State-granted right to benefit helped to empower, through abstraction, a particular definition of the scope and terrain of industrial citizenship. Forgan-Smith, Queensland's Premier responsible for the introduction of unemployment insurance there in 1922, articulates clearly the principle that workers should view the support of each other as part of organic economic relations enabled vis a vis state administered unemployment benefits. Under the subtitle **Co-operation the basis** Forgan Smith argued:

> Unemployment insurance can only be effectively enforced in co-operation. The workmen, acting alone, struggling individually, can achieve little. In insurance workmen act together. Through the very undertaking of insurance they realise that they have to bear the burden of unemployment as a body, and, will therefore, be more likely to take steps towards effecting any other remedy which may be available'(Forgan-Smith, 1924:13)

A similar situation had been in operation in Britain until 1921. Prior to 1921 work testing involved offering a worker a job. In March 1921, a `genuinely seeking work test' was legislatively introduced in Britain to be applied to the vast numbers of `uncovenanted' workers applying to the insurance scheme for assistance. The new work test in Britain laid onus of proof on the worker to demonstrate that work was being actively sought (Deacon, 1976:21). Covenanted workers had already notionally been supporting themselves through contributions and could be known to have been honest workers by virtue of the employment record that kept them covered by unemployment insurance. Uncovenanted workers were admitted to the British scheme in order to prevent them from having to apply for relief under the Poor Law still in operation. The problem was that if benefit were not extended to uncovenanted workers then fears of civil disturbance could have been realised in revolution (Deacon, 1976:16). Covenanted workers were entitled to reject job offers that were not equivalent to their previous experience. Uncovenanted workers had no such entitlement. A contracted claim for benefit implied an established identity of worker.

The bill introducing unemployment insurance legislation in Queensland was `labelled the "Loafers' Paradise Bill" by political opponents' (Theodore, 1930).

Queensland's scheme would not contemplate the possibility of loafing. Under the subtitle **A Test of Sincerity**, Forgan-Smith argues that identities of loafer are made knowable by the state, and when linked with the above, that knowledge is transferred to scheme contributors as their own:

> It has been shown conclusively that claims upon the insurance fund can only be satisfactorily tested through properly equipped labour exchanges. There is, unfortunately, a willingness to take undue advantage of unemployment insurance funds, particularly those administered by the state. The Labour exchange furnishes, even where workers are dealt with in enormous numbers, an efficient means of testing the sincerity behind the claim. In order, therefore to ... reduce malingering to an amount so small that it does not imperil the success - financial or otherwise - well organised Government labour exchanges are an essential part of any employment scheme, fortunately we have an advanced system of employment exchanges established in Queensland. (Forgan-Smith, 1924: 13)

Knowledge of `malingering' becomes the legitimate domain of a rational state as does responsibility for detecting malingering. `Malingering' becomes a harm on the social body **thus constituted**. Those enacted as malingerers in the knowledge of the state become enemy's of the working class, not merely different from a legitimate working class, but doing a direct and concrete harm to it. Institutionalized procedures, utilized by labour bureaux in establishment of `malingering', drew up to the state capacity and legitimacy to establish a portion of terms of **legitimate** worker identity vis a vis **illegitimate** identities of loafers.

While empowering, state appropriation of worker identity also politicised the regulation of loafing. In his 1937 report on Unemployment Insurance for Australia, Godfry Ince stressed that administration of benefits should remain an administrative affair as far as possible: "it is ... necessary that the scheme should not be the subject of continual political controversy" (Ince 1937: 5862). Britain's scheme was subjected to a good deal of political controversy that threatened legitimacy of the notion of economic citizenship.

Students of the work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security (JPCSS) established in 1941 `to review the state of social provision, [covering] social security pensions and benefits, housing, social planning, health and recreation,' (Shaver, 1987: 411) have argued variously about the role that it played in the formation of Australia's Post-War Welfare Reforms. Some have argued that it represented nothing more than a legitimating device for an agenda that the Curtin Labor government had planned to pursue with or without its advice. Others claimed that it was a central device necessary for the development of a parliamentary consensus or compromise on the question of funding. Irrespective of the constructive centrality of the Committee, it provided a centralized forum within which prevailing views about poverty relief held by a cross section of the institutional community could be aired.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security (JPCSS) and New Welfare Machinery

Evidence regarding the question of unemployment insurance is contained within the first 360 pages of the 900 page volume (Australia, The Joint Committee on Social Security, 1944). Witnesses included Commonwealth and State public servants, (statisticians, actuaries, Department of Social Services representatives and Department of Labour personnel), academic experts (economists, sociologists, anthropologists and social workers), politicians from major political parties, trade unionists, representatives of various philanthropic groups and representatives of major professional and other lobby groups. Considering the range of witnesses, there was a surprising degree of agreement that: unemployment insurance is necessary; it should be organised by the Commonwealth government; that the contributory principle enables the establishment of **right** to benefit as opposed to a charity and that this is meant to have a positive effect on the morale of the unemployed; and that it is essential that a labour exchange be established to facilitate what amounts to more efficient job search activity as well as access to training and occupational rehabilitation for the long term unemployed.

For those explicitly referring to work testing through a labour bureau, important issues were maintenance of connections to labour force participation for discouraged workers and ensuring that skilled labour would not be immediately forced to undertake unskilled work. Conspicuous by its absence was sustained reference to loafing.

Unemployment Insurance was seen as a way of avoiding experiences of the Great Depression, particularly regarding demoralizing effects of `charity' and poorly organized relief work schemes. While loafers had not completely receded from the discursive agenda, they had certainly been eclipsed by an unemployed subject languishing on inadequate and **inactive** methods of ameliorating unemployment.

Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts

The experience of the Depression became negatively engraved in articulation of each strand of a promising safety net. Work testing via labour bureaux had been established during the Depression as the most efficient machinery for use in confirmation of unemployment. Experience and knowledge of interstate disparities in methods adopted to administer relief engendered a sense that comprehensive `fairness' in application would be desirable. Above all, it was expressed that maintenance of a moral community firmly rooted in productive effort could be and should be achieved through provision of access to relief measures that might be articulated as individual and inalienable rights. The liberal concept of contract through some form of contribution was, for many, the only tool logically available to accomplish empowerment of the productive individual. Ronald Walker (1936: 222-223), one of the witnesses, articulated this principle (though not approvingly) in his 1936 work **Unemployment Policy**:

> Insurance financed by the workers is fundamentally individualistic, since the individuals gain in security ... [and] a legal and moral right to benefit. ... Public relief out of revenue or of employer's contributions is an admission of collective responsibility to the unemployed.

While the idea of collective responsibility was certainly embedded in insurance forms of benefit financing, the foundation of collective responsibility was seen by Liberals of the period as a guaranteeing of an individual's responsibility to the collective. South Australia's Senator McLeay offered the following comments in 1944 on the effects of a non-contributory funding principle (fairly typical of the Liberal Party's position on this issue):

> When we consider the methods proposed by the government to finance this scheme, and the obligations with which this country is faced, we see a continuance of a policy which will encourage thriftlessness and indolence (Senator McLeay, 1944: 190).

There were of course dissenters to this perspective. Economists enamoured with Keynsian economic principles, including S. J. Butlin and J. A La Nauze from Sydney University, preferred the collectivism of a national minimum income to the individualism of contributed insurance (Shaver, 1987: 419). Trade union representatives such as James Stout (Secretary, Melbourne Trades Hall Council) and John Chapple (General Secretary, Australian Railways Union), preferred that contributions came from those causing unemployment in the first place - owners of productive enterprise. Unemployment relief would in effect, constitute a tax on capitalism. Work testing, intrinsic to any scheme, was not enmeshed in the contribution debate. It was seen by both sides of the house as a mechanism by which, if administered by `intelligent and trained officials' (Australia, JPCSS, Minutes of Evidence, 1944: 350), potentially disenfranchised workers might become animated as useful citizens in a dynamic industrial society.

As Shaver has argued, `the perspectives from which the new system of social security was thought were essentially retrospective.' The Joint Committee's Second Interim Report (Australia, JPCSS, 1942) (though heavily coloured by war time manpower directives), manifests in one paragraph linkage of the essence of liberal economic fraternity articulated as in danger of collapse during the depression, with the emergent critical role that the state should play as direct mediator of economic life:

> There are few workers who do not fear unemployment, and not the least part of their fear is the thought that they might be compelled to ask for charity. The scheme put forward here would give them assured benefits as a right ... always subject to the condition that they must be unreservedly ready to work as the Government may direct. No one who will not work is entitled to be supported by a community ... All labour is equally honourable (Australia, JPCSS, 1942a: 774).

The Committee's Third Interim Report (Australia, JPCSS, 1942b: 779) gave joint party approval to the Labor party's preferred right by contract of contribution to be achieved though the mechanism of graduated income tax. Although the actuarial principle had been abandoned, contribution had been retained as the medium through which a `social right' to assistance would be secured. More importantly, each beneficiary would acquire a responsibility to a community as part of the identity of honourable labourer. Work testing would support two purposes. The first, that degraded workers received necessary rehabilitation. Secondly and less saliently, that charlatans did not sneak onto a safety net established for real workers. Through state appropriation of benefit administration, the figure of the loafer received **potential** for discursive reanimation as working class enemy implicated as an impediment to achieving necessary labour market reform.

From the wartime Manpower Directorate came the Commonwealth Employment Service to facilitate work testing of beneficiaries receiving unemployment benefit through the Federal Department of Social Services. The Commonwealth Manpower Directorate, established during the Second World War, involved an unpopular but necessary forcing of labour into essential industries, movement from which was extremely difficult to manage. Work testing in the immediate Post War period was conceived, at least in some administrative circles, as a method by which control over labour movement could be maintained. In a December 1945 minute to the Federal Cabinet an Assistant Secretary of The Treasury articulated the need to establish a firm link between benefit receipt and government labour market objectives, whilst at the same time preventing outright loafing:

> The purpose of this submission is to secure endorsement of a precise works test formula in relation to the payment of unemployment benefits which will not prejudice the projection of national works programme because of lack of suitable workers who are not prepared to accept jobs requiring living away from home [and] be consistent with the government's conception of social justice but nevertheless avoid abuse of a social service and consequent heavy expenditure from the National Welfare Fund. ... In a period of widespread unemployment it might be necessary to still encourage mobility and this would involve a further tightening up of the works test formula. (Australia, 1945: 1)

Though widespread unemployment did not occur after the Second World War as it had after the First, a claimant found illegitimately resisting such direction could still potentially be a working class enemy. Labour shortages during the war and immediately proceeding it, added national productivity to problems of idleness confronted by administrators. The figure of the Loafer became fragmented in a centralized administration to include those standing as impediments to reconstruction rationality. Experience and legitimacy of centralised labour force planning gained during the war brought to legislators and administrators an ability to constitute an illegitimate benefit claimant in terms of rationally constituted labour market policy.

Conclusion

Methods of work testing that partitioned legitimate and illegitimate recipients of unemployment relief varied greatly over the years prior to the Second World War and gave rise to different social subjects. Large increases in joblessness experienced in the

1890's and the 1930's were catalysts in gradual displacement of the essential idler from discourse and practice of appropriate forms of relief.

Work testing began in its early forms as methods of expressing relations of dependence directly between a bourgeois reforming class and those dependent on wage labour. Wood chopping and stone breaking were methods adopted to know an idler by absence from doors of places employing these techniques. Only applicants able to reflect an impression of appropriate working class civility would be given succour. Reinforcement of working class civility in places where temptations of drink and easy handouts were removed was established during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

With establishment of state organized labour bureaux came mechanical possibility of effectively linking labour market demand with work willingness. Large volumes of people could be sifted through work tested relief provision. Early labour bureaux work testing bore legacies of adjacent private relief mechanisms, (for example, the use of police reports) to maintain linkage between access to unemployment relief provisions and conceptions of appropriate working class civility. Government authorities inserted themselves as mediators of relations between classes. The power of subject construction became abstracted from direct relations between bourgeois benefactors and working class recipients. The `the state' began ascendency as a neutral organ, benignly, though actively, pursuing the interests of workers partly by disciplining them to play an appropriate role in emergent industrial society.

Independence of workers was sought to be established in bodies of applicants, either by discovery, by buttressing or by re-invigoration. For authorities administering unemployment relief, independence was interpreted as **appropriate** dependence on waged labour. Married men were often referred to as the most suitable recipients of state or private benevolence due to patriarchal responsibility. Those considered to be avoiding that responsibility were vilified, particularly by moral reformers of the late nineteenth century, as providing evidence of a pathological social condition of the working class - their women the victims. Married women were often denied assistance if suspected of either double dipping or illegitimately shifting responsibility of dependence from the shoulders of an employed husband to those of a benefactor. Single men were particularly scrutinized as they were assumed to have a far greater degree of mobility and flexibility in choice of work as well as a higher propensity to imposition for a life of leisure at a low material level.

Struggle over interpretation of appropriate forms of dependence primarily focused on prevailing norms of employment practice. Work testing of relief receipt became the site of such struggle during the 1890's depression, at least in N. S. W., to the point where a commission of inquiry was mounted principally to establish whether or not the Labour Bureau was having a depressive effect on rural wages. During the 1930's depression, radical left wing protesters seized on the fact that relief work, once declared so, involved a suspension of award conditions. As the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security collected evidence for its interim reports recommending forms of post war welfare infrastructure, work testing was found to be mildly contentious particularly by union delegates for the effects that it might have on decreasing veracity of skill and trade demarcations if administered by an irresponsible bureaucracy.

Legitimacy to link labour markets with relief provision had been gained by governments in the 1890's. Legitimacy for relief as a permanent institution had been debated at least since 1910. However, relief by right to be administered by the state was not accomplished until 1944. Unions, the State and private enterprise, faced with post-war reconstruction in a Keynsian economic ideological environment, formed an `industrial community' to be collectively protected by a Federal state led by the Labor Party. Part of this protection would be from illegitimate benefit claimants. With authority to administer work tested unemployment benefits, partially on a warrant of working class interests, came legitimate authority to administer terms and conditions of sanctionable and objectionable labour market behaviour interpretable as evidence of valid industrial citizenship.

The Post-War introduction of Unemployment Benefits certainly represented a massive gain for working Australians, however, the Federal state was also empowered with a new method to facilitate market relations. Dole bludgers were drawn from the shadows and into the fluorescent lights of labour market regulation.

Throughout the period under discussion, conceptions of who legitimate jobless workers were, as well as methods of governance erected around those conceptions, changed considerably. It has been argued that work testing was partially employed as a device to `responsibilize' workers. Early transitions from non-government to government administered `unemployment relief' involved not only recognition by governments that they had a duty to support jobless workers (a step toward the idea of benefit as a right), but were most importantly reactions to growing working class antagonism at governments' previously sporadic efforts to pursue their material interests.

The `idea of the state' emergent in the late nineteenth century, particularly in organised left circles, encompassed parliament and government agencies as parts of a vehicle for reform of labour market relations. With this broad trajectory, concessions such as shorter working hours, worker's compensation, a national old age pension scheme, an industrial arbitration system and a minimum wage, were won. Clearly labour's `levelling' objectives could be achieved through parliamentary control of fundamental characteristics of labour market operation.

Some commentators have argued that this trajectory of reform manifested a liberal co-opting of the organised left. That is, rather than pursing workers' interests by revolutionary means, workers interests were pursued through the market place. Whether or not this was the case, government labour bureau activity, established in the 1890's and expanded through decades of both Labour and Liberal party leadership of State and Federal governments, was oriented toward an instilling of waged independence through linkage of, what amounted to early income support schemes, to opportunities for jobs. Worker independence was pursued through work testing of unemployment relief schemes. Irrespective of whether those schemes were designed to promote the production of independence for the first time, as for youth, or reinvigorate the flagging independence of long term unemployed skilled and relatively unskilled workers alike, the liberal project of labour market dependence as independence was pursued. The `state' would expand to encompass jobless workers, but only if those workers conformed to terms of industrial enfranchisement.

With the establishment of unemployment benefit by right, `the idea of the state' as a vehicle for achieving egalitarian aims gained the capacity to enact a form of social integration not hitherto contemplated. By discriminating between labour force participants and non-participants with the use of work test techniques, `the state' had a constituency of its own definition, free now to regulate the terms of post-war legitimate labour force participation. Workers as well as employers and relief administrators could become enraged at illegitimate benefit claimants. The principles of work testing became constitutive of the whole society.

End Notes

1. Lang refused to follow economic orthodoxy by substantially raising taxes and even repudiating foreign loans (Young, 1963).

2. Fivedock and Drummoyne are suburbs of Sydney.

3. See for example The International Labour Defense (c. 1932/33), Lees (1932), Payne (c. 1930-1933) and The State Unemployed and Relief Worker's Council of New South Wales (1936).

4. See for example Marie Jahoda (1972).

5. The term `shadow' is used here to refer to a government parliamentarian's opposite member in parliament. This is a commonly used term most often adopted in reference to an opposition spokesperson's area of concern in connection with a cabinet minister's portfolio.

6. James Stout, Secretary of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council argued in evidence given to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security (p. 350) that taxes on workers incomes during the depression were acceptable as an emergency measure but should not form the basis of **right** to benefit.

7. Knibs' uncertainty about the ability to construct the organisational infrastructure to accomplish work testing is difficult to understand in light of the fact that labour bureaux had been successfully work testing on a large scale for almost twenty years at the time of Knibs' report.

Chapter 6: Work Testing 1945-1971

Introduction

Jaques on Beveridge

All the world's a workhouse,
And all men and women mostly merely paupers,
Liable to accident and unemployment,
Industrial disease and disability,
And doomed from year to year to rot and rot.
But under State Insurance for Security,
Contributory or non-contributory,
Behold the poor from extreme want relieved,
Throughout their seven ages. First the infant
Mowling and puking from pre-natal benefit,
(Assessed for the unborn at eighteen shillings,
The baby's fifty-fifty split with Ma).
And then the schoolboy, started with the eight boo,
Creeping like snail towards school leaving age
With fifteen shillings training maintenance;
And next the stripling, with one pound a week,
Passing through courtship to the marriage dowry, a statutory tenner; then the husband,
Protected by the housewife's policy,
And pension (joint) of forty shillings (base c)
Plus extra unemployment compensation.
And then the father,
With Multiplying family allowances,
(Eight shillings for each pair of pattering feet)
His dwelling crammed with under age dependents,
And so he earns his meed. The next age shifts
To the progressive old-age-pensioner,
With fourteen silver shillings in his poke,
Rising in twenty years to five-and-twenty -
His lifetime's aches doctored by state physicians,
Both domiciliary and institutional
who sullenly dispense his medicine.
And so he earns the final gift of all,
Saved by the universal funeral grant
from life's last accident, a pauper's grave.
Sans shroud, sans bier, sans hearse, sans everything.

Sagitarius (ADOS, 12/1945a)

Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts

The range of life circumstances warranting income support was massively expanded during the 1940's. Extension of unemployment benefits (UB) as right in the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act, 1944 formed part and parcel of a post-war reconstruction scheme with full-employment as a central pillar. Work testing of Unemployment Benefits played a symbolic as well as a mechanical role in facilitating full employment objectives. The symbolic role played by work testing was to amplify discourse about a new era industrial community implied in full employment objectives. Access to unemployment benefits mediated by work testing, confirmed or denied attribution of citizen/worker identity. Work test failures were not willing to contribute to the national wealth. Those denied UB on work test grounds were, by virtue of their `otherness', outside of a civil society comprised of workers, employers and an active state bound together in a discourse of rights and duties to contribute to national development. The mechanical role played by work testing was, albeit to a limited degree, to `lever' workers into jobs considered of national importance, but attracting low wages and poor working conditions.

The discourse of rights and duties within which unemployment benefits were bound also produced a serious contradiction for UB administrators. Right to benefit was also linked to a right to `suitable' employment. Administrators had to balance their perception of a worker's right to select employment of their choice with their perception of a duty that a worker had to take whatever work was available. The contradiction involved in this balancing act became manifest in problems concerning treatment of `unemployables', who were for the most part misfits on local employment scenes due to physical and or aesthetic incapacity. The contradiction was addressed within the logic of will characterising the idea of unemployment. Those thought responsible for their own incapacity were administratively split from those unemployable through no fault of their own. The contradiction of balancing rights and duties was resolved in favour of an unemployed subject that affirmed the role of the state as firmly on the side of a responsible working class.

Legislated work test provisions and amendments to DSS procedure manuals between 1944 and 1973 reflected general consensus on expectations of appropriate labour force participation, manifest during hearings conducted by the Joint Committee on Social Security. This consensus, established the figure of the honest worker as the `warrant' or legitimate figure through which work testing would be applied. Honest workers were `fair' participants in the new industrial era. They exhibited characteristics of a good industrial citizen. They didn't strike, they were prepared to extend occupational flexibility if necessary and they avoided crime and excessive alcohol. These characteristics were common templates against which workers had been deemed `responsible' since the late nineteenth century. However, the issue of **right** to autonomy of job selection was seriously debated for the first time during introduction of the 1944 Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill.

`Industrial citizenship' was a term used by Beilhartz (1991:4) to describe a particular configuration of the relationship between the state and civil society during the post-war period. Beilhartz separated Australian discourse on citizenship into colonial, `state experimental' and `industrial', all stages in shifting forms of liberalism. Colonial citizenship sprang from ideals of nationalism and irrepressible youth and vitality.

Colonial citizenship encountered a minimalist state and rugged (masculine) individuals. The State experimental stage involved working through contradictions in radical individualism that were resolved in Justice Higgins' Harvester Decision on a minimum wage and further expressed in the development of Old Age Pensions and compulsory workers compensation. The State experimental stage received its heaviest catalyst when academic and political circles encountered Keynsian economics in the 1930's. The State experimental stage encountered individuals as citizens with rights to protection from civil (economic) society rather than rights to protection from bureaucratic (state) society envisaged in radical colonial liberal ideals.

Beilhartz (1991:4-7) argued that discourse on industrial citizenship emerged from the war and the depression as a discourse on a `socialism of the stomach' which stressed the primacy of material values over civic individualism. Labor's Dr Evatt stressed rights and the Liberals' Robert Menzies stressed duties. The idler stood larger in liberal discourse on duties than in discourse on rights. Development of state welfare in the form of unemployment benefits was circumscribed by logical limits to a `socialism of the stomach'. Rights to material prosperity to be achieved through state intervention did not include a right to material existence without a reciprocal duty.

The idler could not be tolerated as part of a new industrial society because no conceivable benefit could be drawn to the industrial society providing support from the idler. The idler was not an individual in the liberal sense and was certainly not an industrial citizen. The new liberalism was able to contain industrial citizenship with variations in interpretation of relative weight to be placed on rights and duties. However, the new liberalism could not entertain a logical basis to support an person unwilling to work for wages (de-commodified citizen). `Unemployment' still had to be separated from mere idleness through work testing. The idler remained as an implied antithesis of `worker' and retained for the state a method of extracting duty for rights offered.

Terms of the debate surrounding UB clearly indicated that the essential idler had passed from central discourse and was displaced by a worker whose **economic** value as a labour force participant was to be maintained and optimised. It was no longer necessary to run schemes that would perform intensive reconfiguration of a worker's soul, rather, the worker would participate in the economic planning process by accepting compliance with its demands. However, this debate, like discussions surrounding the Joint Committee on Social Security's recommendations, was coloured by experiences of the past, in this case, experience with labour direction accomplished by the Manpower Directorate.

Parliamentary debate surrounding the issue of work testing primarily centred on the issue of the degree to which the state would compel an unemployed worker to take a particular kind of job. The debate shifted and turned on the issue of how much control the state should wield in defining interface between an individual worker and the labour market. Generally, the Labor government saw that a centrally administered labour bureau could potentially be used to achieve central economic planning functions by channelling workers to higher priority industries and occupations. Submission to a degree of regulation would be a small price to pay for industrial enfranchisement through right to benefit. The Liberals opposed the idea that a labour bureau should be involved in what they called labour conscription. However they also opposed the idea that a worker should be given the opportunity to unrealistically cling to an occupation that was declining in demand.

In spite of the Opposition's harassment, the 1944 bill passed virtually unaltered, and the machinery for administration of unemployment benefits was established with construction of the Commonwealth Employment Services (CES). The Director-General of Social Services was required to be satisfied that a claimant was capable, willing and available for work. Work testing was implied in that requirement. Procedures that became known generally as `work' (or in some cases `works') testing, involved the establishment of codified instructions that Social Services Officers and their CES agents were to follow in making a `determination' (an act of becoming satisfied as to a claimant's eligibility or non-eligibility for benefit). Instructions were spread throughout the 1945 **`Rules for the Guidance of Registrars and Officers Concerned with the Grant of Unemployment and Sickness Benefit'** [1] **(Rules)** in sections dealing with `Application for Benefit', `Investigation of claim', `Determination of Benefit', and `Postponement of Benefit'. The initial instructions were quite broad and demanded a great deal of discretion from officers confronted with individual clients. Knowledge of local labour market conditions and knowledge of individual clients was considered variable enough to demand a great deal of flexibility in applying the general rules. In effect, individual CES and DSS officers were responsible as intermediaries between labour markets and clients.

The period between 1945 and 1972 saw little in terms of major changes to work test procedures. The most significant issue early on in the administration of work testing was how to deal with workers affected in various ways by particular kinds of strikes. The handling of unemployed strikers required articulation of the state's role in industrial relations, and interpretation of the extent to which corporate responsibility for unemployment could be levied on individual workers affected by strikes. Another important issue required interpretation of how to deal with casual workers, particularly waterside workers. In this case, the administration was confronted with the issue of requiring workers to take jobs that would demand going outside of an occupational demarcation or `calling'. These issues marked significant events in processes of administrative categorisation of claimants as legitimate worker/citizens and were resolved squarely within a logical framework connecting state and industrial relations.

Salient issues of work test administration found in CES and DSS central office files also revealed contradictions in CES imperatives to articulate worker/citizen identities. Constructing a viable position in relation to strikers was problematic only in so far as determining who was to blame for a strike was concerned. However, issues surrounding more routine decisions about how to use available discipline techniques were less easily resolved and bore evidence of difficulty that unemployment benefit (UB) administrators faced in reconciling ideas of `right' to benefit with those of duty to participate in industrial society. Several instances were found where UB was deliberately used as a lever to stimulate labour force mobility, particularly from urban to rural areas. Duty to national prosperity in return for benefit was clearly articulated.

However, the epitome of the worker as a fully functioning industrial citizen was contradicted in discourse surrounding treatment of what were said be the `hard core' of the unemployed.

The `hard core' were drunks, petty criminals and those too old to work but too young for old age pension. Treatment of claimants so described revealed a reluctance to punish these people into the workforce that contradicted latent demands that UB should be used for labour force control. `Hard core' unemployed were not economic assets, apart from the spending power they maintained. Yet, these identities became codified in a series of forms constructed to split them off from the dishonest worker unwilling to comprehend the collective duty involved in a full-employment society. The latent `dole bludger' received administrative coherence in routine forms designed to bring them to light, to know them, for the purpose of discipline.

Early Parliamentary Debate and the Unemployed as an Economic Asset

By the time Prime Minister Curtin tabled Britain's White Paper on Unemployment in Federal Parliament on his return from Britain in July 1944, William Beveridge's `**Full Employment in a Free Society**' was already being accepted by both sides of the Australian Federal parliament as containing much of what would be become in all probability a conceptual basis for Australia's post-war reconstruction plans. When introducing the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill for debate in the House of Representatives on March, 2nd 1944, Holloway, the Minister for Labour and National Service declared that no matter how well full employment would be achieved after the war:

> `there must be periods of unemployment when people are being transferred from one engagement to another. The Government wishes to ensure that people during such periods of unemployment shall remain a social asset by retaining some spending power.' (Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates **(CAPD**, 3/2/1944)

As a preface to the launching of his critique of the non-contributory principle imbedded in Labor's Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill, the Leader of the Opposition, Robert Menzies argued, that members on both sides of the house desired to establish a method of protecting citizens against unemployment:

Work Testing 1945-1971

> Everybody desires to see set up in Australia as high a level of security and protection against the results of unemployment and the results of economic dislocations ... We may properly aim at full employment, but I agree with the Minister [Holloway], that we shall not expect to achieve that in the sense that there shall not be any unemployment at all. (**CAPD**, 3/29/1944a)

The idea of full employment as an objective to be pursued by a rational central planning state in a capitalist economy had gained ground during the years of the Depression. However, beyond development of consensus on the idea that full employment was desirable, deep ideological division characterised thinking on the extent to which state control should be exercised to achieve it. In his review of `Keynsian consensus' characterizing post war reconstruction policy and academic economic thinking Smyth (1992:75-96) concluded:

> In the early post-war years it was evident to economists that any potential consensus regarding the central economic institutions would be found within a `Keynsian' economic framework. However, the Keynsian revolution remained diverse theoretically and was adaptable to a variety of social policy arrangements. Of the possible approaches to social planning, the dominant opinion in the profession favoured more intervention than less, although as the decade [(of the 1940's)] progressed the prospects of a supportive political consensus were greatly diminished. As the economists had observed, the central issues were as much political as economic and the period's writings on political philosophy reveal that while a certain measure of planning was beyond dispute, the politics of the social approach to the economy became increasingly polarised ... What is unquestionable is that by the mid 1940's, from being a rather novel term borrowed from a British debate, planning came to denote a central imperative of Australian Political life. However planning had been joined by an imperative of equal force, freedom and the attempt to reconcile the two became the intellectual challenge of the 1940's.

The polarization Smyth referred to was in relation to demands on personal freedom that central planning would entail. It was considered that central planning would take away a worker's choice of occupation, employer and preferred geographical location. In spite of broad agreement to ideals of prosperity promised by the notion of full employment, federal Labor and Liberal parties had different visions of what the post-war period would bring in terms of employment conditions. The Liberals predicted an economic boom resulting from increases in world wide economic activity aimed at recovering peacetime industrial maintenance schedules as well as supplying European infrastructure needs. In effect, the economy would more or less provide reasonable levels of employment on its own, with increased but not extreme levels of government intervention. The Labor Government, under Ben Chifley as Minister for Post-War Reconstruction, wanted a good deal more control over demand for labour. They proposed to use Commonwealth Bank credit control as a method of funding government expenditure when private expenditure was low and restricting private expenditure when it threatened to boom. In addition, the Labor government wanted to bring increased powers to federal parliament to enable it to wield more control over the labour process, than the provision of arbitration in dispute settlement would enable.

In February 1944, The Attorney-General, Dr. Evatt made his second reading of the Constitution Alteration (Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights) Bill. The Bill was designed to give parliament a number of reconstruction powers including one to provide employment and prevent unemployment `by any method which the Parliament thinks appropriate,' including power over working conditions (including rights of dismissal). Not surprisingly, the Liberals fought vehemently (and successfully) against this Bill and the ensuing August 19th referendum, arguing to the public that a form of regimentation as `industrial conscription'[2] was contemplated (Waters, 1976: 233). Harold Holt remarked in a July debate on the issue:

> whatever degree of chaos might be expected if we were to leave a relatively free economy to operate in this country after the war, would be as nothing compared with the chaos which will result from the indefinite continuance of existing controls after the war. (**CAPD**, 7/20/1944)

The idea that charges of industrial conscription might be levelled at the Labor government's handling of the work testing of UB was defended with the argument that a more humane administration than that accomplished during the Great Depression would be accomplished during the `new era'. A degree of protection should be sought for the worker to prevent unjust conscription into an industrial army:

> During the depression, there was no industrial conscription as such, yet, when an unemployed man registered at a labour bureau he was likely to be told that there was a job in such and such a place, and that he could have it if he went there. If he did not go, he was free to starve; **that** was economic conscription. (**CAPD**, 7/20/1944b)

Given pervasive ideological tension concerning how post-war reconstruction was to be pursued, it is not surprising that, apart from the contribution issue, concerns over work testing of UB occupied a prominent position in early debate on the

Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill during March and April of 1944. For the Liberals, means tested, non-contributory benefits were `pauperizing' by forcing a claimant to prove poverty in order to get a benefit. Further, work tests were socialistic in threatening to take away freedom of choice of occupation in order to achieve full employment (**CAPD**, 3/29/1944b). The Liberal's Member for Barker, Archie Cameron complained:

> We see suggestions that the boss bureaucrats intend to tell the proprietors of industry in this country what they shall do, and their employees when, where and for how long they shall work. The people are to be told not only the industries in which they may work, but also those in which they may not work. I do not believe that our democracy will accept any such direction. (**CAPD**, 3/30/1944)

Cameron also wanted assurance that the government would not be placed in a position of funding strikes by supporting stood-down unionists who may not necessarily have been thought of as `direct participants' in strikes. Cameron specifically mentioned strikes by `key men' effectively closing down the operation of industrial enterprises. The problem was that the legislation was not specific enough. It left too much room for interpretation by the Director-General of Social Security (**CAPD**, 3/30/1944). The issue receiving most attention was the power of review, determination, postponement and cancellation vested in the Director-General. Speakers such as Cameron, Senators McLachlan, McLeay and Hays were concerned to verify that the Director-General's power would be circumscribed by parliamentary control, fearing the development of a second and independent order of social control (**CAPD**, 2/23/1944a). In reply, Labor's, Barnard drew on a Joint Committee on Social Security recommendation, that compliance with work testing would be a **duty** adhered to in return for right to benefit. Workers would happily submit to a greater national good, in return for income support. (**CAPD**, 3/29/1944c).

Contradicting concerns of coercion, Victoria's Liberal Senator Leckie wanted assurance that a worker would not be given opportunity to stubbornly remain in an occupation for which there were no vacancies. In response, The Minister for Health and Social Services, Labor's Senator Fraser, argued that this would not be a problem and that jobless workers would be pleased to work rather than receive benefits: `during the depression years, carpenters, butchers and in fact tradesmen of all classes were only too pleased to accept work of any kind' (**CAPD**, 2/23/1944b).

The issue of whether a non-contributary scheme would discourage willingness to work, as part of Menzies' `Pauperism', was effectively muted by work test provisions included in the new legislation. The idea that there should be a work test was not significant for debate. Certainly, the Liberal's complaint that `bureaucrats will have complete domination over the lives and activities of everyone in Australia' (**CAPD**, 7/20/1944c) was a keystone in the their arguments against Labor's 1944 UB initiatives. However, after the debate on the Powers Referendum, there was no sustained effort to confront work testing of Benefits on the basis that labour was being inappropriately directed or `conscripted'. Barnard's assertion that work testing would be used `in some measure for the direction of labour went unchallenged by the opposition. Waters' (1976: 234) comments that Liberals' cries of totalitarianism, surrounding the commonwealth powers debate, were `bogeys' to engender electoral support for their position on the `power's referendum. It was not the regulation of labour that was problematic for the Liberals, but rather the potential for over-regulation of industry. It seemed generally accepted that some direction of labour would be necessary and desirable in accordance with both Labor's and Liberal's ideas of post-war industrial reform.

The extent to which labour supply side economic planning objectives were pursued through work testing is impossible to accurately assess without detailed records of job referral activity matched with high priority employment objectives. However contradictions imbedded in ideas of post-war reconstruction surrounding freedom from unemployment clearly found their way at an early point into ideas of how to conduct work testing. As the primary vehicle through which work testing would be accomplished, the Commonwealth Employment Service was eager to avoid appearing as a mere adjunct to its predecessor organisation, the Manpower Directorate. The dignity of labour was to be preserved along with disciplinary potential afforded through work testing.

The idea of UB by right was still a new one in Australia and public reaction to it varied greatly. Many heralded expansion of rights to income support as the beginning of a bright new humanitarian future, a `light on the hill' finally shining after a long upward trudge to achieve its firing. For some, the state had, under a Labor administration, become a benevolent guardian of workers' interests. G. R., an unemployed worker, wrote to Ben Chifly to express his appreciation of Benefits:

> I have taken somewhat different jobs of late years owing to health and getting about in various environments. I cannot hide the fact that some organisations and people are determined against labour. Yet, they pose as "helpers of the underdog" they are really "exploiters of the unfortunate." I have much evidence and I wish I could do more than I seem to be able to check them. This letter merits no reply - no one knows I have written it - it is an honest and heartfelt expression of thanks, so that you sir, amidst your multitudinous and straining duties may know there are many grateful to you and your Government. You are truly serving your fellow man and that is the surest way of serving God. (G. R., 12/18/1945)

Labor supporters were not all as appreciative of the new era they saw themselves moving into. At least one group was concerned about the extent of power to be granted to the Director-General of Social Services to force claimants to do undesirable work and to obtain information about a claimant that would be put to institutional ends. L. J. Noonan of the Affiliated Labour Teachers' Union argued:

> The Director General is given extensive powers and himself constitutes a final court or authority of appeal... [Through work testing], power of coercion and of compulsory work as directed are further strengthened [and] compulsory information is instituted... These provisions confer dangerously large powers, and are hardly in accord with traditional working class outlook as voiced by the A. L. P. (Noonan, 2/14/1945)

J. M Fraser, the then Minister for Social Services, replied that the act stated that the Director-General only has authority to administer the act `subject to any direction of the Minister' (ADOSS, 3/8/1945). In other words, the conduct of Benefits would ultimately be subject to a parliamentary process. However, empowerment of the Director-General to make final decisions left the concrete organisation of right to benefit appear as a politically neutral series of events. Decisions about whether someone is actually unemployed or not, according to availability and willingness to work, became a reified process that addressed a form of reality not subject to political negotiation, either in principle or in application.

Work testing was ostensibly thought of as an administrative necessity in knowing wether or not someone was unemployed by addressing work motivation through routinized practices. Common sense about how to understand the concept of work in a `fair' manner was built into early administrative procedure, and only slightly expanded to the end of 1972 at which point the state's role in its interpretation and enforcement of the meaning of "suitable work" became a hotly contested issue.

However, there were points at which pre-1972 work testing encountered the overtly political process of strike negotiation.

UB and Strikers

Sheridan (1973) argued that the industrial wing of the labour movement was poised for attack toward the end of the second world war. Trade unions suffered low wage levels and very little power over working conditions during the war years. In spite of the fact that a labour government was in office at a federal level, unions were concerned that post war economic planning would involve a return to manpower direction. In addition, the experience of the Great Depression was still fresh. The possibility of post war prosperity that the Liberals spoke about provided an opportunity to gain back ground that was lost in the past fifteen years. Sheridan (1973: 177) commented that a spirit of `revenge' characterised major union attitudes to the post war period:

> In addition to the natural desire to advance working conditions after a period of self-imposed restraint, all members of the work force retained vivid and usually bitter, memories of the depression years. This meant not only that the victims of the economic disaster were determined that they would never let it happen again, but also that the attitude of organised labour was coloured by a desire something akin to revenge, for a squaring of those industrial and social accounts left suspended with the outbreak of war. This time it was the bosses, the financiers or however `they might be described, were not going to get away with it. This time the wage-earning classes were going to make sure that their slice of the national cake was increased - and the time to do it was right now while business prospects were so good and labour in high demand.

The category of workers on strike were dealt with in section 15 of the 1944 Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act. A jobless person could qualify for benefit if he[3] satisfied the Director-General that he was jobless and his joblessness was not due to his being a direct participant in a strike. UB should not have been be refused if the participant refused to work in a job that had become vacant because of a strike or a lockout. These two provisions formalised the idea that the state would not support militant unionism. At the same time, the state would not contradict entrenched ideas of a workers' right to expression of solidarity, by not penalising refusal to cross a picket line. These principles remained basically intact throughout the post-war period, but were modified by a series of industrial events discussed below.

Work Testing 1945-1971

In September 1945, the dismissal of an employee named Parker by Australian Iron and Steel Ltd. at Port Kembla led to a series of rolling strikes affecting over three thousand workers. In addition, 400 members of the Ironworkers' Union at Port Kembla were stood down because some of them had imposed a go slow tactic called a ‘darg.' The strikers were not entitled to benefit, and neither were those directly responsible for imposing the ‘darg' as they had manifest ‘misconduct' as workers. However, a more difficult issue arose in relation to the work test when stood down workers were offered their old jobs back under conditions existing prior to the strike and ‘darg'. The then Acting Minister for Social Services, Senator Keane on the advice of F. H. Rowe, Director-General of Social Services, argued that workers who refused to return to their old jobs were not willing to undertake suitable work. Suitability of work was then interpreted as that demanded by an employer. According to T. H. Pitt (Acting Director-General of Social Services in November 1946):

> Senator Keane took the view that direct participants in a strike cannot be paid UB, but those who are unemployed resulting from a strike beyond their control, should not be penalised, and that if unions were permitted to impose a "black ban" at will, the commonwealth would be in the position of financing a strike if benefit were paid to persons refusing to work where a black ban had been imposed. Senator Keane felt that he could not accept the position that men cannot be asked to resume their own normal jobs because of a "black ban", but, of course, could not countenance the engagement of outsiders to act as strike breakers. (ADOSS, 11/25/1946)

Following the 1945 Port Kembla strike, the Department of Social Services procedure manuals were amended to accord with the position adopted by the Government during the strike. The next major review of work test policy concerning strikes came in April 1946 from experience gained during another strike that began on March 5th. The March strike over a seniority issue at Lysaght's Ltd at Newcastle, involved the placement of two returned servicemen in high grade positions (Sorters) that would normally have been filled by long standing members of the Federated Ironworkers Union. Only sorters and weighers numbering 41 of the approximately 1600 employees were on strike. However, the factory was paralysed because sorters and weighers held key industrial positions at the factory and none of the other employees would work as sorters when offered those positions by Lysaght's management. 1600 workers were stood down.

The 41 sorters received strike pay and the remaining workers applied for and received UB. Following consideration of a cabinet minute submitted by the Minister for Social Services, the government decided that the upcoming review of Benefits legislation should incorporate a change in provisions related to strikers . As the strikers' union as a whole had supported the strike, the government decided that the whole sub branch of the Federated Ironworkers' Union should be held responsible for the action of the 41 members on strike (ADOSS, 12/1945b). The idea of responsibility for a strike was then extended to co-workers refusing to cross the picket line. By mid 1946, all of the essential features of UB policy directly relating to strikers had been put into place, and enshrined in the 1947 legislative amendments and consolidation of Social Services legislation.

Pursuit of labour relations policy through UB arrangements was the most politically contentious work test issue encountered in the pre-1972 period. Although, background or **base** policy had been established in late 1945 and early 1946 as a result of experience with precedent industrial disputes, terms of legislation remained flexible enough to enable sufficient administrative and political manoeuvring on issues of industrial conflict. It remained at the Minister's and Director-General's discretion as to whether or not the particular provisions would apply according to how interpretation of particular workers' affiliation with an industrial action had been negotiated. For example, during the 1949 coal strike, DSS officers were instructed to process the claims of **all** applicants irrespective of their union affiliation or particular place of work (ADOSS, 6/23/1949). The withholding or extension of Benefits became part of the arbitration process, particularly with large scale strikes.

Suitable work and Wharfies

When the Joint Committee on Social Security heard evidence on proposed UB legislation in 1942, the only potentially contentious issue for unionists in relation to work testing was that of whether the definition of `suitable work' would mean forcing a skilled worker to do unskilled work, and whether a worker would have to change union affiliation in order to take an offered job. As early as December, 1945, Federal Cabinet approved interpretation of the notion that suitable work could include anything that the Director -General deemed to be so, irrespective of union affiliation or occupational demarcation (Australia, Department of Social Security (ADOSS), 4/11/1946).

This idea provided the context for establishment of the principle that merely wanting to work was a necessary but not sufficient worker characteristic that would guarantee admission to `citizen' status through the granting of UB. Throughout the pre-1972 period, the principle of flexibility, forcing workers to take jobs in contexts not of their choosing, met with challenges in several industrial contexts through both Labor and Liberal administrations. In 1946, Waterside Tally Clerks unable to obtain employment because of a Wharf Labourers strike, were denied UB because they were unwilling to accept work in other occupations even though they were prepared to take any work offered to them as Tally Clerks (ADOSS, 11/4/1946). Workers involved in the Stevedoring industry such as wharf labourers or tally clerks were (and still are) employed on a basis that is technically temporary, but practically permanent. That is, there was a pool of workers from which required numbers were drawn by employing agencies (Stevedoring firms) to service shipping traffic. Although they did not work on a regular basis, they were required to keep their union membership active in order to accept work. If they were to take work in another occupation their membership would lapse.

Similarly, in 1957 when the port of Mackay was declared a class `B' port, receiving only `general cargo' from ships calling approximately once per month, the question arose as to whether waterside workers made redundant would be eligible for UB. The post re-classification contingent of 400 waterside workers was to be reduced to 80. Although most left Mackay at that point, 165 remained and shared the available waterside work. In order for this sharing arrangement to effectively operate, a roster system for access to "pick-up" roll call was developed. This meant that a worker could only be available for work which didn't interfere with "pick-up" responsibilities. The Department of Social Security declared that no relaxation of the work test should occur, and that it was in the workers' `own interests' if they were forced to move in order to find work (ADOSS, 9/1957). Once again, work testing was a means of interpreting industrial practices and relations between employees and employers through administrative categorisation.

Work testing and routine discipline

Sections 12 and 15 of The Social Services Act, 1944 contained, authority for the Director-General of Social Security to terminate UB benefit if the claimant refused to accept work considered by the Director-General to be of a "suitable nature."

The 1944 Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act[4] contained reference to broad criteria for work testing of beneficiaries. Details on how willingness, and availability for work was to be interpreted, were set down in Department of Social Security as well as Commonwealth Employment Service operating procedure manuals. The Department of Social Security had statutory authority to make a decision (determination) on whether or not a claimant's circumstances could be considered representative of work willingness and availability to work. The CES was to act as agent for the department of Social Security in work test matters because its officers were considered to have had a greater appreciation of labour markets via which work testing would be accomplished. Guide-lines to be followed by CES officers when dealing with UB claimants were derived from DSS guide-lines.[5]

The early `Rules' contained scant guidelines for officers to follow. It was considered impossible to set down precise methods of reaching a decision about a worker's willingness. Officers were expected to use their own discretion when consideration was being given to what suitable work constituted, whether or not a worker became unemployed because of `misconduct' and whether unemployment was `voluntary'. In most cases, work testing involved the offer of a full-time job thought to be suitable (ADOLANS, 11/25/1946). Generally, white men aged between 16 and 64 were eligible for benefit by virtue of the fact they were white and aged between 16 and 64. Married women were denied benefits if their husband was considered capable of supporting them.[6] Aboriginals had to be of a `reasonable standard of intelligence' if they lived outside of a reserve, and not eligible at all if on a reserve. In addition to these explicitly racist and patriarchal provisions constructing women as dependent and Aboriginals as sub-human until proven otherwise, suspicion was levelled at other categories of claimant with work contexts that varied from the full-time, outside of home norm. Seasonal workers were denied UB altogether because their wage rates were considered high enough to support them through seasonal slack periods. Intermittent workers such as waterside workers (wharf labourers), coal miners and ships painters and dockers were problematic because it was normal for them to be without jobs for short periods.

The 1945 `**Rules**' gave little indication apart from perusal of past income as to whether real unemployment was being experienced. However, women `engaged on their own account or casually employed represented a different category to their male `intermittent' counterparts. Because much of their work was done at home, the notion of them as being unemployed hinged on an apparently wider notion of `suitable work'. The principal difficulty for administrators was that knowledge of `worker' was obscured by home walls, and obscured by patriarchal notions of an appropriate divide between public and private space overlaying economic identities. These claimants were to have been scrutinised particularly closely to ensure they were more committed to paid work than to family life. The 1945 **Rules** stated:

> It is probable that many claims will be received from women who work in their own homes, either on their own account or as piece workers, or who alternate between work in their own homes and work outside. In cases of this nature, very careful inquiry is necessary to ensure that all qualifications are fulfilled, and in particular that women are genuinely unemployed. Generally speaking, a female claimant should not be accepted as qualified for unemployment benefit unless she is able and willing to accept full-time employment. A female claimant must not be permitted to "pick and choose" her employment and if employment considered suitable by the Registrar is refused, the claim for unemployment benefit should be disallowed. (ADOSS, 5/1945:50)

Legitimate forms of labour force participation were inscribed directly (albeit in a limited way compared to later periods) into the claimant categorisation process through explicit definition of worker types. By excluding legitimacy of work contexts that stood as alternatives to interpretation of work as full-time employment outside of the home, unemployment benefits were a way of effecting reproduction of gendered and raced notions of worker/citizen. The disciplinary capacity of denial and postponement provisions to normalize forms of labour force participation were also utilised as disciplinary devices to address workers unwilling to accept what Barnard had identified as a duty to the state. Work testing was a way of forcing workers to take jobs that were considered necessary to be filled.

As early as December 1945, political concern was expressed about workers not extending flexibility to fit into prevalent labour market conditions. According to a November 1945 memorandum prepared by R. V. Keane (Acting Minister for Social

Services) to E. J. Holloway (Minister for Labour and National Service, recommending the text of a joint submission to Cabinet (approved by Cabinet on December 18, 1945):

> In the short period that has elapsed since the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act became operative, unemployment has been negligible in proportions, but the cessation of hostilities is already producing the first evidences of - (a) an increase in local unemployment in districts where purely war-time activity was responsible for an abnormal high level of employment absorbing all local labour, including many persons who usually would not have entered the employment field; (b) approaching seasonal slackness in districts where seasonal industries predominate, e. g. along the North Queensland coast in the sugar and meat industries; (c) a diminution of job prospects within certain trades; (d) a disinclination by workers to accept available employment less attractive as to wages and/or conditions than those to which they have been accustomed. (ADOSS, 11/16/1945)

Postponement as opposed to termination of benefit was used as a disciplinary device to break down resistance from those being too choosy about the jobs they wanted. Throughout the late 1940's and early 1950s the Commonwealth Employment Service engaged in an intensive public relations campaign aimed at throwing off the mantle of the wartime Manpower Directorate. Ideas that the CES forced workers to work in particular occupations as well as forcing employers to accept or give up particular workers were still prevalent. One former Employment Officer in a N.S.W. country town, recalled a butcher giving him free meat on the understanding that he was a manpower officer and could wield considerable power over various of the towns workers and employers (Wadey, (1987)[7]. In spite of the CES's need to dissociate itself from the Manpower Directorate's image, the tighter state economic management contemplated during the late forties and early fifties required a new war to be waged against a new sort of indolence. Workers who were considered not willing to follow advice considered beneficial for both employers approached by the CES and the productive community as a whole were to have their benefit postponed rather than cancelled as a more effective method of gaining compliance.

Both W. Funnell, the Director-General of Manpower, and the Director-General of the Department of Social Services, F. H. Rowe, gave approval to Keane's and Holloway's submission to cabinet. In January of 1946 a memorandum containing much of the text of the cabinet submission was sent to Social Services Registrars and to National Service Officers (acting as Registrar's agents) setting down in more precise detail, characteristics of a claimant that could legitimately refuse work offered by CES officers before cancellation of benefit procedures would be activated (ADOLANS, 1/31/1945).

Part of Rowe's response was to begin regularization of postponement provisions soon to be set down in both departments' procedure manuals. In a letter to Funnell, in April 1946, Rowe argued that postponement rather than termination would have a better disciplinary effect and probably achieve cabinet's goal of making sure labour could be acquired in areas where it was considered needed. Rowe was advised that postponement of benefit would have a greater `deterring effect' than cancellation as a claimant could legitimately, simply claim again if terminated completely. If several postponements later the same claimant was still found to be refusing recommended work then benefit could be refused `until such a time as the claimant demonstrated, by actually undertaking employment, that he was willing to work' (ADOSS, 4/9/1946):

> The main purpose of the recommendations was to tighten up the works test with a view to depriving persons of benefit where they refused to accept work offered by the Commonwealth ... I feel it is better for the claimant and better for the administration also if he is dealt with by means of a stand down for benefit rather than a total rejection of his claim. If a claim is rejected there is nothing to prevent a claimant from re-claiming next day and on each successive day following rejection of his claim and the administration would be bound to give due consideration to the claim on each occasion. ADOSS, 4/15/1946)

Although it is impossible to know the extent to which work testing was actually used to direct labour into particular occupations, it is clear that on a number of occasions this was the case. One DSS officer wrote:

> About 1000 persons are required for fruit picking in the Murray Valley and the Employment Service proposes to use these vacancies as a lever either for getting the unemployed to work or, if they refuse to accept work, reducing the number in receipt of UB. (ADOSS 2/4/1946)

Immigrants were thought to be a particularly pliable source of labour. Post-war industrial expansion involved for a massive increase in immigration, mostly from Europe. Passages to Australia were subsidized and accommodation in migrant hostels extended to new arrivals until employment was secured. Immigrants provided a relatively pliant source of labour to supply pockets of shortage identified by the Commonwealth Employment Service. To a large extent UB paid for migrant's upkeep in hostels. The work testing of UB was used to lever immigrants into jobs they did not want. One incident in 1953 at the Villawood migrant hostel in Sydney, illustrates the extent to which the central notion of "suitable work" involved in work testing was a concept malleable enough to operate as a lever.

On the 16th of February, 1953, a CES officer visited the Villawood migrant hostel with the hope of securing a large number of workers to travel to Mildura (a distance of around 600 kilometres) for the fruit picking season. The employment was only to last for six to eight weeks. When the migrants asked for assurance from the CES that a place would still be available for them at the hostel upon return, or that the fruit picking jobs would be of a permanent nature, their requests were denied. 150, of 217 offered jobs, refused them. To have accepted work under those conditions would have meant permanently leaving the hostel at which cheap accommodation was available and forgoing opportunities that might have arisen for permanent work. Those who were single and refused the job offers had their benefit postponed. Normal procedure was to pay part of the UB as cash, `pocket money' to hostel residents, and the remainder to Commonwealth Hostels LTD for accommodation rental. When contemplating how the following week's payment would be made, the NSW Assistant Director of Social Services successfully argued that:

> ... having regard to the ill-feeling which appeared to have been present at the hostel last week and which almost certainly will be heightened by the non-receipt of payment this week, it has been decided that rather than make the pocket money payment available by cash we would pay instead by cheque posted direct to the beneficiary. (ADOSS, 2/25/1953)

During that same week, The South Australian Branch of the Department of Social Services had also postponed the benefits of people not willing to pick fruit (ADOSS, 2/20/53). Rural concerns such as Queensland's peanut and cotton industries needed seasonal workers and maintained close relations with the Commonwealth Employment Service to ensure that supplies of labour were readily available. As early as 1947, Queensland's Council of Agriculture wrote to Prime Minister Chifley asking that work-testing of Benefits be used as a lever to force urban unemployed onto cotton farms. At a mid 1947 meeting of the Queensland Council of Agriculture the following resolution was passed:

> That this Council considers the general Social Service payments are an important factor in causing shortage of labour; seasonal and other workers will not offer for available work and we ask that regulations be tightened up and that payments be made for a limited time only. (Jones, 8/19/1947)

Seasonal workers in Queensland had been extended benefits because their wages were no longer considered high enough to provide them and their families with an income sufficient for a full calender year. Although some departmental officers utilised their power to terminate and postpone benefits as a `lever', CES and DSS Department heads were still concerned to protect workers from the `industrial conscription' predicted by members of the federal opposition during debate on the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill.

Both Rowe and Funnell were annoyed with the Agriculture Council's proposal. Rowe argued that Benefits were not high enough to prevent anyone from working for a wage (ADOSS, 9/8/1947). Funnell was of the opinion that all the cotton farmers wanted was cheap labour, and to compel workers to pick cotton at low wages and under conditions of poor accommodation would be tantamount to ignoring the `rights of the individual to refuse employment without imposing the penalty of forfeiture of rights to UB' (ADOLANS, 4/15/1948). This sentiment was echoed in E. V. Evatt's response as acting Prime Minister to Jones (Australia, Department of The Prime Minister, 7/6/1948).

The discourse of rights and duties characterising UB administrators' knowledge of claimants, contained contradictions articulated in the 1944 parliamentary debate on work testing. On one hand, claimants had a **duty** to exchange compliance with `reasonable' demands for admission into the post-war cadre of industrial citizenship. On the other hand, the idea of `reasonable' demands had to be formulated within the context of an individual's conception of themselves as a worker. These two demands were, for the most part, quite compatible. Work testing had, at least by the late 1950s, become a potent symbolic device bearing evidence to a working class of its own constitution. The case of Roy G. discussed below illustrates the potency with which work testing communicated the difference between a `good' worker and a recalcitrant one. Roy's conception of himself as a worker **became** quite compatible with duty to participate as an industrial citizen.

Roy G., a forty year old `oxy' welder, felt that his reputation as an honest worker was at stake with a negative work test decision levelled against him by a Queensland District Employment Officer. That work testing operated as a means of defining for beneficiaries their status as an honest `worker' may be seen in the persistent pursuit of confirmation as such from the Department of Social Services.

While on holidays, Roy and his family were involved in a car accident in Brisbane. Roy took leave without pay from his employer in Sydney to be with his wife still in hospital in Brisbane. He registered for employment in Brisbane and applied for and received UB. During an interview with a CES officer, Roy was shown a list of job openings, three as an arc-welder, one as a road labourer and one as a first class sheet metal worker. The interviewing officer's account of the interview, resulting in UB cancellation, focused on the fact that Roy did not apply for those positions. Roy, on the other hand argued that the interviewing officer had taken the position that Roy wasn't qualified for those positions other than that of labourer (involving work too heavy for someone still recovering from a car accident), or as sheet metal worker (a job which demanded qualifications which Roy simply didn't have).

Cancellation of benefit for approximately three weeks was upheld at the first appeal and finally overturned approximately 14 months later. After the involvement of Directors-General and Ministers of Departments of Labour and National Service and Social Services, not only was Roy given his benefit, but an instruction was issued to amend a standard form of correspondence due to Roy's outrage at benefit loss. Roy resumed his old job just three weeks after benefit was cancelled but continued to press his case at a ministerial level for over a year. According to the Queensland Director of Social Services, `**Mr G. [felt] that his untarnished reputation as a worker [was] involved**' (ADOSS, 12/18/1959 [bold added]).

Too much of the amber fluid for idlers loafers and layabouts

Beneficiaries not prepared to engage themselves fully in the rights/duties discourse were treated with a mixture of compassion and contempt by UB administrators. The figure of an essential loafer re-emerged in the bodies of alcoholics. These were considered the `hard core' of long-term UB claimants. Ostensibly, they bore all the characteristics of the loafer class referred to by Creer in the 1890s and seen by early twentieth century observers to inhabit most cities in large numbers. However, the new loafers were not only small in number but were to be divided between those not responsible for their conditions and those deemed to prefer `a state of intoxication and filth' (ADOSS, 11/23/1961). Once again, police were involved in constructing knowledge of internal corruption.

The principle problem that `unemployables' posed to post-war administrators was not one of civilizing an uncivilised working class. The figure of the loafer in the late nineteenth century was contained in a problem of idleness that posed the question `how can the working class be convinced of the value of subordinate independence?' In contrast, post-war unemployables were mostly sad cases about whom administrators were perplexed. Unemployables presented the CES with the problem of associating the CES with the sort of place that such people must have recourse to. One State Director found this to be so problematic that he approached the New South Wales State Department of Labour and asked if they would take over these unemployables as `sustenance' cases, `in a desire to clear [the] service of these persons who are not a good advertisement and tend to convey a wrong impression of our activities amongst more fortunate types' (Australia, Department of Labour and National Service 2/13/1948).

Unemployables also made it difficult for the CES to attract `good labour'. Unemployables were generally thought of as people whom the dominant problem of idleness did not address. They were considered too fit for invalid pension too young for old age pension and unreferrable to employment. One Department of Labour and National Service Officer thought that at least some form of benefit should have been available as a right to men suffering from emotional trauma caused by the war, but `some of the younger medical men won't assess them at the necessary 80% capacity in order to receive the invalid pension' (ADOLANS, 6/18-19/1947).

CES officers were reluctant to refer these people to employers because they feared losing the goodwill of employers. The CES, like private employment agencies, had to gain a battery of vacancies to refer unemployed workers to. Most Employment Officers wanted to leave unemployables on UB and simply consider them an unfortunate but inevitable residue of industrial society. Others considered that unemployables had no place at all in an unemployment benefit system and were either to be reconsidered for invalid pension, given special benefit because they were otherwise unclassifiable or punished into better habits through withdrawal or postponement of their UB. At least Funnell thought that perhaps `personal demeanour' should not enter into an Employment officer's assessment of personal blame. Eventually, categories of unemployables became codified into UB administrators' routine documentation.

What to do with the `hard core' unemployed

Rowe, wrote to Harry Bland (Director of the Commonwealth Employment Service) as early as February 1947, requesting that the CES furnish some sort of report to DSS about unemployables. It was suggested that the DSS interview such beneficiaries and decide weather or not they have some sort of physical disability, thus transferable to either an invalid pension or sickness benefit, or postpone or terminate the benefit because the person was:

> disinclined to wash, shave or care for his clothing ... [creating] a disservice to refer them to an employer with the possibility of losing the goodwill of that employer' (ADOSS, 2/14/1947).

The CES was at first reluctant to programatically penalise non-referable unemployment beneficiaries to employers. Funnell, The Director of Employment argued against an overly harsh treatment of people with `unpleasant habits, defects in dress and demeanour' (ADOLANS, 3/5/1947). Although perhaps `unpleasant,' willingness to work should not have been inferred from this. Funnell considered it a gross manufacture to say that a person purposefully kept themselves unclean and slovenly to avoid having to work. Further:

> Under present conditions of labour shortage, employers are more prone to try out labour of types which, under conditions of less stringency, they would not consider. (ADOLANS, 4/2/1948)

Funnell's position was not a popular one with the DSS nor with his own Deputy Directors of Employment. At a conference of Deputy Directors of Employment held in June of the same year Queensland and West Australian representatives both claimed that they were `definitely getting down to the hard core and unless something was done, the unemployable class would stay on UB forever' (ADOLANS, 6/18-19/1947).

On the 24th of July, Rowe issued a memo for all DSS registrars to the effect that "unemployables" were to be interviewed (ADOSS, 7/24/1947). By August, the same memo had been reproduced and distributed to CES Deputy Directors of Employment in each state.

The 1945 DSS procedure manual only required review interviews after six months on benefit (rule 320). Now, people on benefit for six weeks or more were to be brought into offices for interview and an effort made to get them off benefit either by shifting them to an invalid pension, a sickness benefit or by suspension or termination. The tone of a memo sent by a state Deputy Director of employment to head office in Sydney, indicates the degree of contempt held for long term beneficiaries:

> I am having a survey made at the end of this month when all seasonal industry will be in full swing, to ascertain the age scales of men remaining unemployed, and I feel sure, from verbal reports already received, that these will fall to a large extent into the older age groups, and from my personal knowledge of this type of individual who remains unemployed after the commencement of seasonal industry, I think that it will only be a waste of Government Moneys to suggest any scheme of training for them. (ADOLANS, 8/25/1947).

Bankstown and Broken Hill

Survey reports from Bankstown (an industrial suburb in Sydney) and Broken Hill (a mining town in western New South Wales) produced similar pictures of their UB recipients. Twelve of the 22 Bankstown claimants were found to be either physically unfit to work at all (some applied for invalid pension) or over the age of sixty and difficult to place in jobs requiring unskilled workers. The Broken Hill report provided more detail. Of its 34 registered workers, the Broken Hill office reported that 11 were either too old or too young for local work, that eight had problems of `temperance,' 13 were physically disadvantaged, and the remainder but one were either of poor appearance, lazy or a combination of the above. According to the Employment Officer making the report only one registrant was a `good type, and will accept any work offered to him of a suitable nature.'(ADOLANS, 10/28/1947). Evaluations of claimants included the following under the headings `Jobs offered and reactions; probabilities for future employment in Broken Hill:'

> **34 year old unmarried male, `Car Driver':** No suitable work has been available to offer this man. Has crippled leg, but it is thought that he can be referred to a position in the near future.
>
> **30 year old unmarried male, `unskilled'**: This man is of very poor physique and no suitable work has been available. Owing to poor physique this man will be unable to be placed in full time employment, particularly as he is unskilled.
>
> **43 year old unmarried male, `unskilled'**: Refused work on N. S. W. Railways, wood cutting and fruit picking. Benefit postponed 6 weeks from 22/9/47. Very undesirable type. Cannot be referred owing to intemperate habits. Understand has left town under police direction.

> **54 year old married male, `unskilled'**: Owing to this man's intemperate habits have not been able to refer to local employers. He will not accept work away from Broken Hill. Owing to this man's character and intemperate habits, work in Broken Hill is remote. Although he has a wife, who is in receipt of a pension, it is understood that she would be better off without this man.
>
> **44 year old unmarried female**: lives at Menindie on the river bank. No suitable work has been available to offer this woman. Police at Menindie state that she is dirty in appearance and is addicted to drink. It is considered unlikely that employment will be found. (ADOLANS, 10/28/1947)

Drunkenness, infirmity, dirty appearance and bad character, typified the administration's view of Broken Hill's claimants. Broken Hill's Employment Officer was congratulated for his admirable application of the work test to these beneficiaries, many of whom had since `failed to continue to report after application of the works test, apparently because they were "work shy"' (ADOLANS, 10/28/1947). `Dirty appearance' `intemperance' and `unseemly habits' were viewed as acts done to `deliberately take advantage of the disinclination of the Employment Service of referring [them] to an employer; and [to] deliberately make himself unattractive to an employer either before or immediately after engagement' (ADOLANS, 7/10/1947).

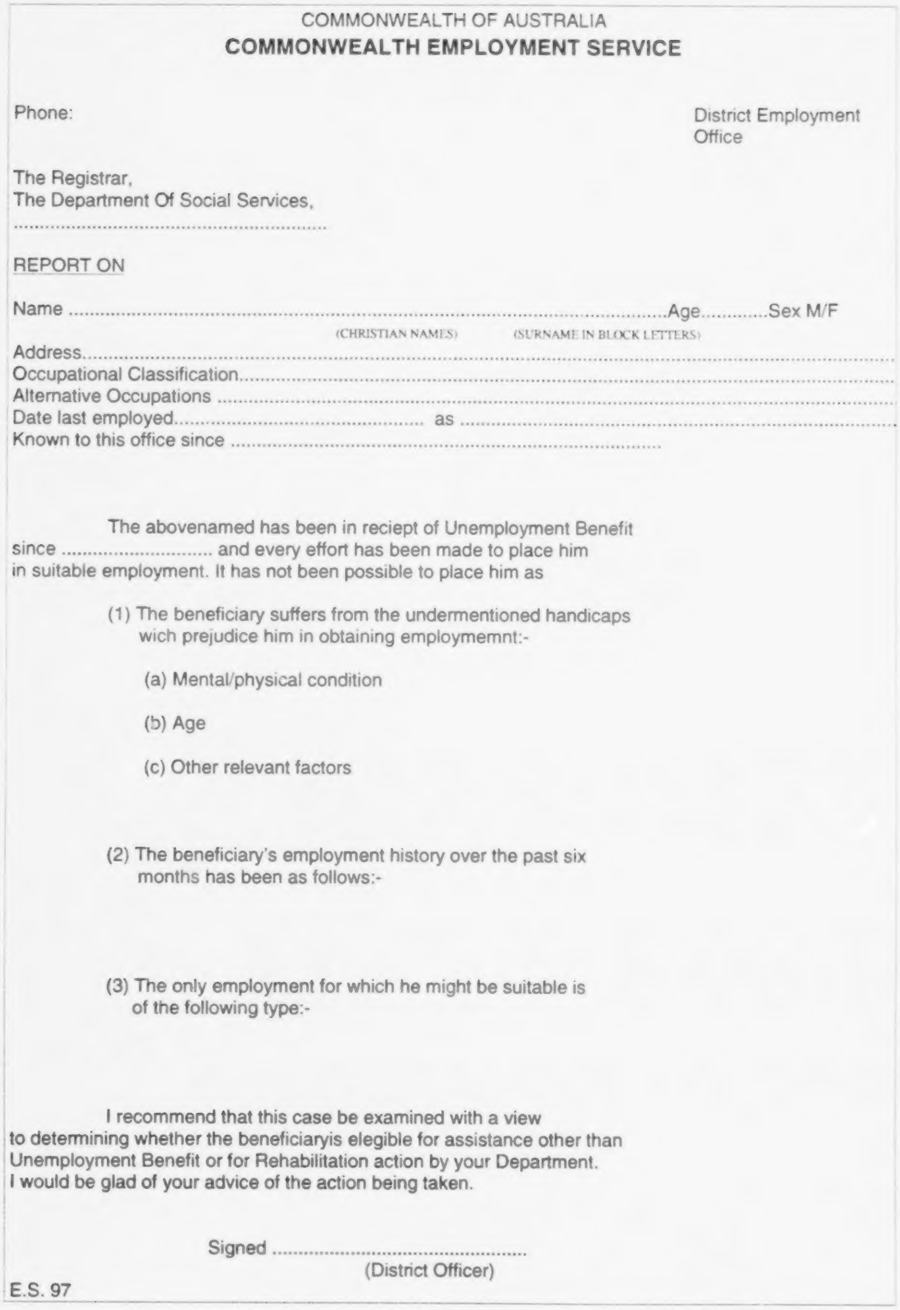
Rowe used the term **`unemployable benefit'**, when discussing with Funnell, what to do with chronic undesirable claimants (ADOLANS, 4/2/1948). Although probably a slip of grammar, the term `unemployable benefit' probably aptly described what work test failures were deprived of for a good part of the long boom. From at least 1954 onwards, once identified as an `unemployable', a claimant was further sub-classified as either legitimately or illegitimately unemployable depending on whether an internal or external attribution of blame was levied by UB administrators.

Forms E.S.97 and 98, SU 36 and SU 44

In August 1954, forms E. S. 97 and E. S. 98 were constructed (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) to formalise communication about "unemployables" between the CES and the Department of Social Services. Forms E.S.97 and 98 divided legitimate from non-legitimate, and problematic claimants who displayed various types of chronic incapacity preventing labour force participation. DSS's 1958 procedure manual described the difference between categories of claimants appearing in either of these forms as falling:

Figure 6. 1

FORM ES 97



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Phone:

District Employment
Office

The Registrar,
The Department Of Social Services,
....

REPORT ON

Name ....Age............Sex M/F
(CHRISTIAN NAMES) (SURNAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)
Address..
Occupational Classification..
Alternative Occupations ....
Date last employed.. as ....
Known to this office since ....

The abovenamed has been in reciept of Unemployment Benefit since .... and every effort has been made to place him in suitable employment. It has not been possible to place him as

(1) The beneficiary suffers from the undermentioned handicaps wich prejudice him in obtaining employmemnt:-

(a) Mental/physical condition

(b) Age

(c) Other relevant factors

(2) The beneficiary's employment history over the past six months has been as follows:-

(3) The only employment for which he might be suitable is of the following type:-

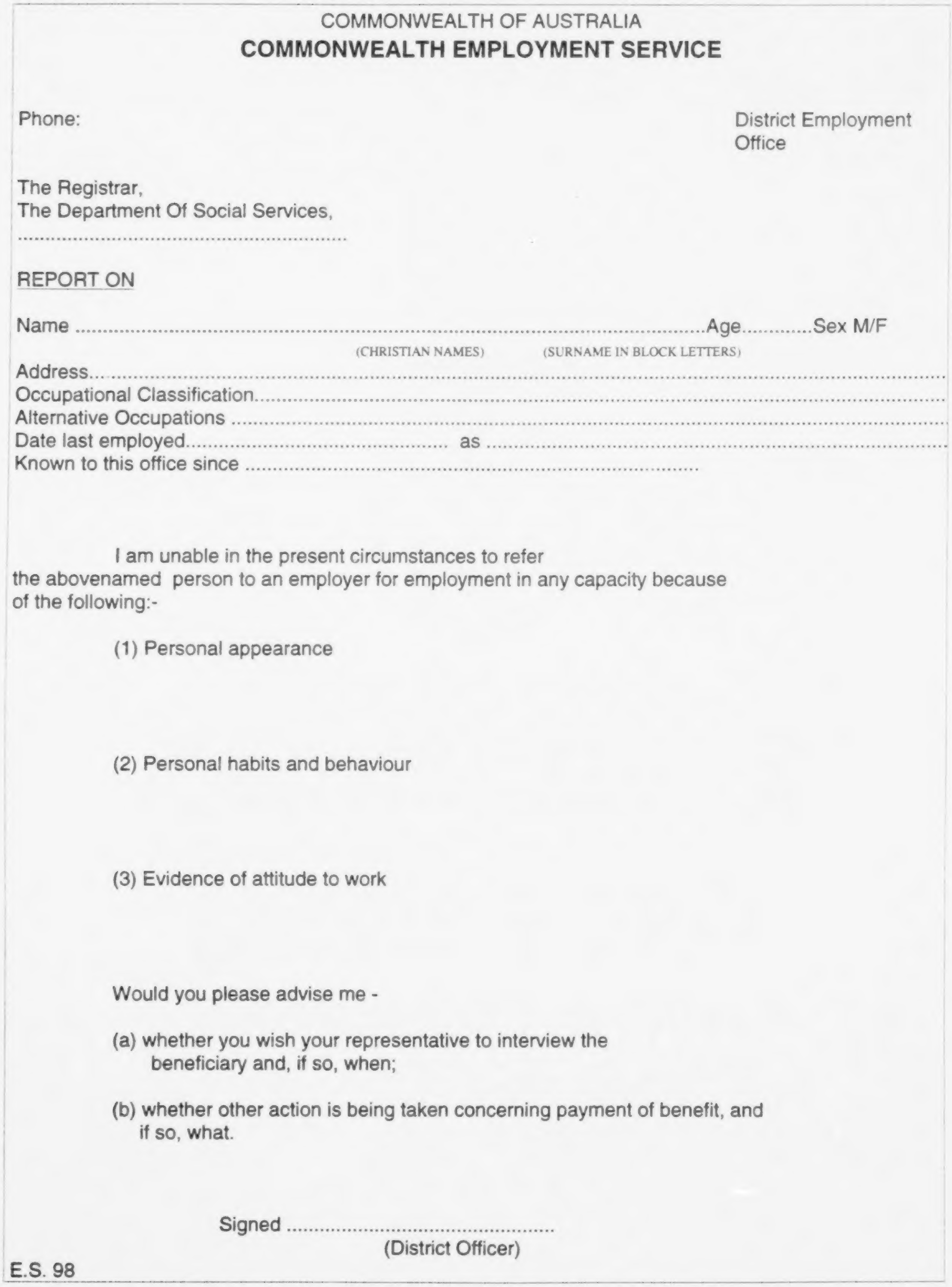
I recommend that this case be examined with a view to determining whether the beneficiaryis elegible for assistance other than Unemployment Benefit or for Rehabilitation action by your Department. I would be glad of your advice of the action being taken.

Signed ....
(District Officer)

E.S. 97

Figure 6. 2

Form ES 98



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Phone:

District Employment
Office

The Registrar,
The Department Of Social Services,
....

REPORT ON

Name ....Age.............Sex M/F
(CHRISTIAN NAMES) (SURNAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)
Address...
Occupational Classification..
Alternative Occupations ....
Date last employed.. as ....
Known to this office since ....

I am unable in the present circumstances to refer the abovenamed person to an employer for employment in any capacity because of the following:-

(1) Personal appearance

(2) Personal habits and behaviour

(3) Evidence of attitude to work

Would you please advise me -

(a) whether you wish your representative to interview the beneficiary and, if so, when;

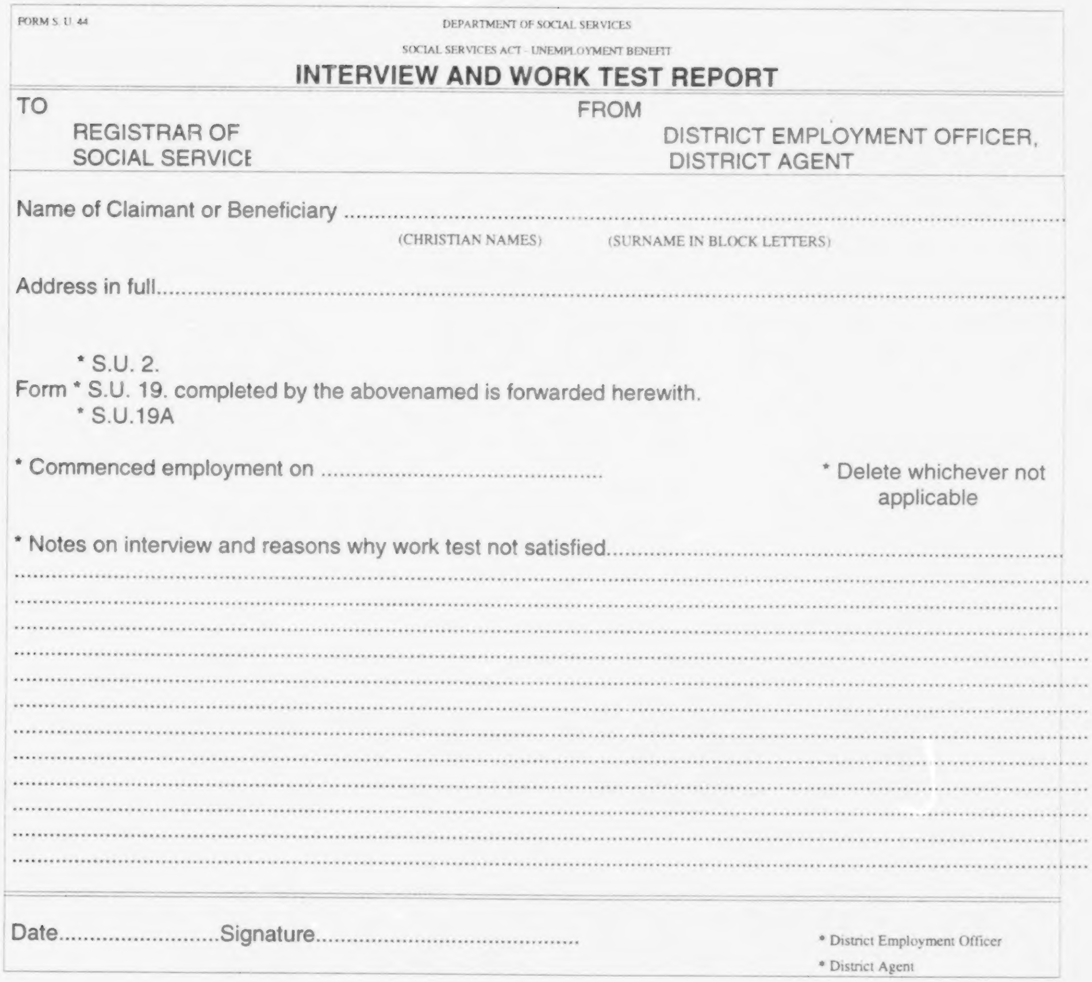
(b) whether other action is being taken concerning payment of benefit, and if so, what.

Signed ....
(District Officer)

E.S. 98

Figure 6. 3

Form SU44



FORM S. U. 44

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

SOCIAL SERVICES ACT - UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

INTERVIEW AND WORK TEST REPORT

TO
REGISTRAR OF
SOCIAL SERVICE

FROM
DISTRICT EMPLOYMENT OFFICER,
DISTRICT AGENT

Name of Claimant or Beneficiary ....
(CHRISTIAN NAMES) (SURNAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Address in full..

* S.U. 2.
Form * S.U. 19. completed by the abovenamed is forwarded herewith.
* S.U.19A

* Commenced employment on ....

* Delete whichever not applicable

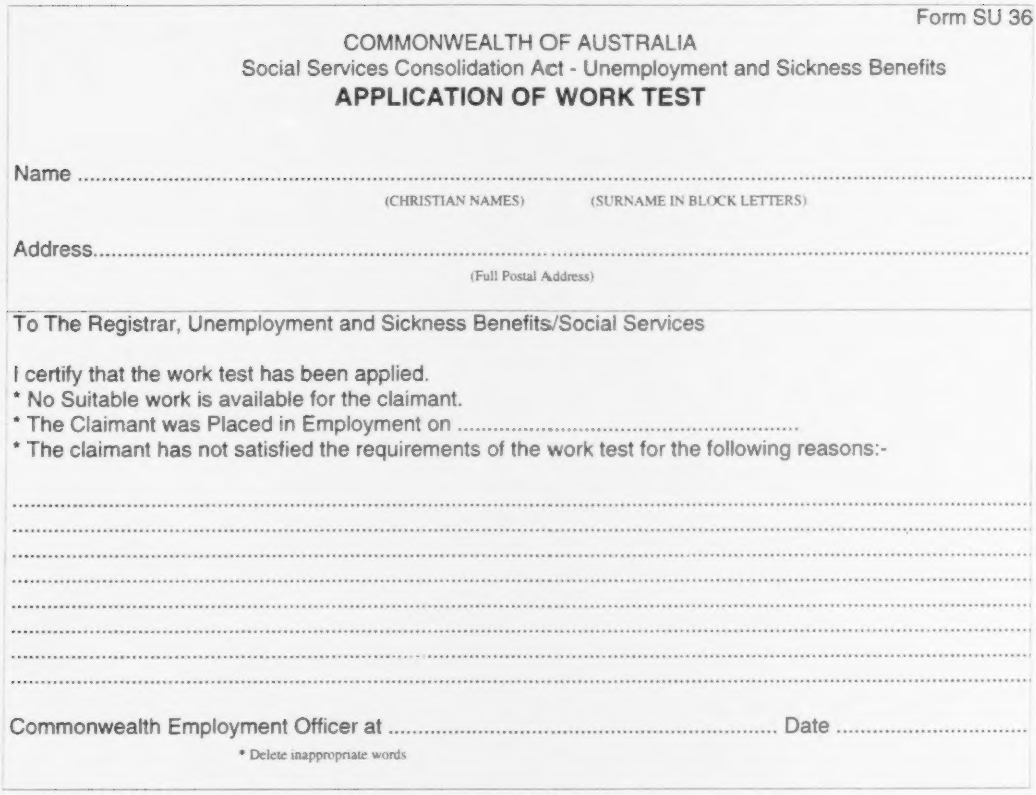
* Notes on interview and reasons why work test not satisfied...
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....

Date..........................Signature..

* District Employment Officer
* District Agent

Figure 6. 4

Form SU 36



Form SU 36

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
Social Services Consolidation Act - Unemployment and Sickness Benefits
APPLICATION OF WORK TEST

Name ....
(CHRISTIAN NAMES) (SURNAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Address..
(Full Postal Address)

To The Registrar, Unemployment and Sickness Benefits/Social Services

I certify that the work test has been applied.
* No Suitable work is available for the claimant.
* The Claimant was Placed in Employment on ....
* The claimant has not satisfied the requirements of the work test for the following reasons:-

....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....

Commonwealth Employment Officer at .... Date ....
* Delete inappropriate words

into two categories as follows:

(i) "Undesirables" - Those who are unacceptable to employers for reasons within their own capacity to correct; for example dirty and slovenly appearance, laziness, habitual drunkenness, reluctance to enter employment.

(ii) "Physical and Mental Capacity" - Those who are unacceptable to employers for reasons outside their own control; i.e., physical or mental incapacity (or both) but who are genuinely seeking employment and are less than 85 per cent permanently incapacitated for work.[8]

E.S.97 contained a beneficiary's characteristics as `**Unemployable**', routinely interpreted by a District Employment Officer in the CES, who recommended that:

> this case be examined with a view to determining whether the beneficiary is eligible for assistance other than UB or for Rehabilitation action by your Department.

Beneficiary's identities constituted through form E.S.97 formalised legitimate labour force exceptions. Evidence of legitimate `mental' and `physical' conditions as well as particular age ranges became reasons to suspect that the beneficiary might not be `unemployed', but might be an invalid, sick or merely too old to work but too young for the old age pension. Those with such a legitimate identity also had employment histories as well as labour market niches.

Non- legitimate `**Undesirables**' were of a different sort and required different treatment. A beneficiary identified through an E.S.98 would probably be subjected to an interview by a DSS officer whose purpose was to recommend whether or not benefi be cancelled or postponed. Opinions of a beneficiary's `personal appearance', `personal behaviour' and `evidence of attitude to work' were recorded here. A 1956 version of the CES procedure manual subsection 10,015, set down types of reasons why `he ought not to place the applicant in employment:'

> The report should set out the facts of the case objectively and concisely under the prescribed headings listed below with additional comments if necessary.
>
> (a) **Personal appearance**. Reference should be made to such features as being unclean; whether this condition is habitual; and failure to respond to suggestions for improvement.

(b) **Personal habits and behaviour**. Specific reference should be made to apparent drunkenness, disorderly and abusive conduct, reputation with local police, refusal to co-operate with the C.E.S., and similar matters of significance in relation to referral to an employer.

(c) **Attitude to work**. This covers positive indications of unwillingness to accept employment, for example, occasions when the applicant failed to report when referred to employment, declined work when offered by employers, influenced the employer to regard him incorrectly as not suitable, failed to commence work after engagement, or refused to accept referral by the C.E.S.

Identification of beneficiaries as responsible for their own essential flaws on form E. S. 98, distinguished these claimants from those simply refusing jobs on the basis that they didn't like the jobs offered. Employment Officers were to report in E. S. 98s as `objectively and concisely as possible.' Objectivity was an interesting term to use in relation to evaluation of claimants. There were no standard measures that could be applied to evaluation of personal appearance, habits, behaviours and attitudes to work. Rather officers had to use their own understandings of what might constitute indicators. E. S. 98's were certainly devices to achieve a demeanour that would be suitable to labour market relations. Work testing remained a way of civilizing a `worker'.

Forms SU36 and SU44 were also work test related forms (Figures 5.3 and 5.4 respectively).[9] SU36 was an early form completed by the Commonwealth Employment Service Officer responsible for a particular claimant's job referral. It was meant to be used on a regular basis to indicate that the employment officer had looked for a job for the claimant and a suitable one couldn't be found, or that the claimant had been placed in employment or that the claimant had for some reason, to be written in by the Employment Officer, failed to satisfy the requirements of the work test. SU36 was handed back to the claimant who would then walk over to the Social Services Registrar and hand it over as proof that CES registration had taken place and that the work test had been applied (ADOLANS, 8/6/1952). If work test failure was noted, a job had been offered and considered suitable by an employment Officer but not by the claimant. The version of SU44 in use parallel with SU36 was to note any work test failures resulting from review interviews. In practice, SU44 and SU36 were used to substitute each other if stocks of one ran out or even if an officer preferred to use one over the other (ADOLANS, 4/7/1953). By 1959, SU36s functions were being mainly achieved with either a rubber stamp on income statements or claim forms and on space provided on SU44. It was then decided to expand SU44 and to use it for notification of employment commencement and work test failure.

The relevance of this seemingly innocuous set of circumstances surrounding the development of bureaucratic paperwork, lies in interpretation of **separate types of knowledges** implied in distinctions between forms. E.S.97 AND 98 were considered forms on which work test information was recorded. These forms were meant to represent claimants in relation to labour market chances. The documentation of labour market chances on form ES 98 created a subject of administration that was illegitimately autonomous from the hands of Employment Officers and from the labour market. That is, people who were considered lazy to the core, or drunk to the centre were the `hard core' of unemployment. These were not **merely** unrealistic in their choices or wanting a short spell from work at the governments expense, they represented a hole in the post-war welfare safety net. They didn't have prescribed characteristics that would exempt them from labour force participation such as a gross disablement or impairment, or pregnancy, or old age. However, they were disadvantaged enough to prevent real labour force participation. Further, such non-participation was considered malevolent, or certainly self-inflicted enough to warrant special consideration for a particular kind of interview aimed at reforming the individuals so defined.

The simultaneous existence of SU36 in addition to a rubber stamp `work test applied' appearing on normal UB application forms, as well as an SU44 to be completed at a review interview, indicated that the work test was capable of **several** interpretations. A claimant could be work tested at point of application, at scheduled interview sessions, by a special field investigations officer at any point in time, or at any time when a District Employment Officer offered a claimant a vacant position. At any one of those points, an array of methods to classify an applicant as one or more of several kinds of `work test failure' was available. Although these techniques of normalisation became a part of disciplinary partitioning during the `long boom', it seems that some senior officials were uneasy with their introduction.

In addition to concern about problems caused by contradictory roles being performed by the CES, Funnell wrestled with the uncomfortable implication that considering someone's' chosen way of presentation as indicative of non-willingness to work was tantamount to a `cultural' if not industrial conscription:

> It does seem to me to be somewhat doubtful whether action to postpone or terminate payment of benefit could be justified on the grounds that a person unwilling to make himself presentable to employers is not taking reasonable steps to obtain work. It seems to me from a practical viewpoint , an applicant would be taking reasonable steps to obtain work if he presented himself at a district office but was not placed because the district officer felt that he was not suitable to be referred to any vacancy. After all, there may be in individual cases opportunities for the placement of persons of the class we are considering, notwithstanding their unpleasant habits, defects in dress and demeanour, etc. (ADOLANS, 3/5/1947)

Conclusion

The period between 1945 and 1972 contained rates of unemployment that hovered around the 1-2 % mark. During this time, the figure of the `dole bludger' remained latent as an overt threat to the working class. Idleness as a threat to state constructed `working class' life was merely an administrative concern.

The `long-boom' enabled disciplinary partitioning of industrial citizenship to proceed at a relatively even pace. Administering officers were confronted with relatively few problems that brought to the surface contradictions centred on facilitating labour force participation. The `**industrial citizen**' disciplinary regime was given a long period of grace to consolidate central referents for comparison of `worker' to `loafer'.

Right to unemployment benefits financed through general tax revenue meant that at least in part, the working class was paying its own unemployment benefits. This meant that those found to be work test failures were attacking real workers. This characteristic was critical for the active construction of dole bludgers during the 1970s. However, `dole bludgers' were not an issue when there was low unemployment. The concept of `dole bludging' remained latent. Industrial issues such as strikes and the treatment of waterside workers were the only highly political events involving work testing. Strikers in particular were, through the logic of work test administration, treated as outside of the industrial community. They were therefore considered misfits as workers.

Work Testing 1945-1971

During this period there was no serious motivation crisis that required substantial intensification of work test discipline. It was clear that work testing was used, at least by some officers, to force a direction of labour. Migrants were pushed into casual seasonal work. Roy G clearly felt himself slighted when he perceived he was thought of as unwilling to work. There was no evidence of a need to buttress flagging motivation of the jobless. Disciplining people to become real workers was not an issue. It seemed that workers had disciplined themselves as people reaping the benefits of membership in the post war industrial community. This has been important to establish in this chapter because the salience of dole bludging in the 1970s was, least at first, due to the fact that the new breed of unemployed were not like workers who had lived through the Great Depression or post war prosperity. The motivation crisis that did emerge in the 1970s was something perceived by politicians, unionists and administrators to be in opposition to the character of workers in the post war period.

At least by 1971, work test administrators were confronted with a new motivation crisis that arose from the incredible material wealth that had given them such a long respite. By 1971, counter-cultural forms began to be perceived as pressing on the public purse, and ergo on the public consciousness of who `workers' really were. The `dole bludger' made its debut in the early 1970's as administrators strained to interpret the newcomers.

End Notes

1. The name of procedure manuals changed several times between 1945 and 1991. For the sake of convenience, any particular manual will be referred to as `the manual'.

2. `Industrial conscription' was a frequently used term to describe government direction of labour during wartime.

3. Unemployment Benefits were initially denied to women unless it could be proved that a husband was incapable of supporting her.

4. This was consolidated with other pensions and benefits in the Social Services Act 1947

5. These were contained in a separate series of documents generated by the Department of Labour and National Services and its successors

6. Although this was provision was removed during the 1947 Consolidation, it was effectively kept in place through the means test.

7. Leigh Wadey interview with Laurie Campbell and Roy Smee, Tape 12 side B, at 499 on Sony TC 78II.

8. These were recovered from the 1971 updated version of the DSS procedure manual series [71u2:755-770]

9. The earliest reference found to the use of form SU36 was in March 1949 (ADOLANS, 3/16/1949). It is not certain when the first version of SU44 (`Notes on interview') was first introduced, though from discussion of its changed function in 1959, it seems probable that it appeared around the same time as SU36 (see the discussion of the redundancy of SU36 according to NSW State practice of rubber stamping SU2s and SU19s (application for UB and Income Statement) with `work test applied' and the use of SU44 to report on work test failures and successful job placements in ADOLANS (3/16/1949).

Chapter 7: Surfie and Hippie Types

Introduction

This chapter argues that work test discipline was intensified during the early 1970s in response to a motivation crisis perceived by unionists, politicians and administrators. Labor's Bill Hayden attempted to take much of the disciplinary force out of work test procedures by, among other things, allowing claimants to have a great deal of autonomy in choice of work offered by the Commonwealth Employment Service. However, Hayden's reforms were reversed shortly after they were introduced. Even though the Whitlam government thought itself to be progressive with social democracy, the government was unable to withstand attacks from the conservative left in the Labor Party, as well as very strong conservative voices in the popular press and elsewhere. This reversal represented the beginning of a long rationality crisis of the state. It was considered by those wishing to support traditional concepts of real workers that `hippies and surfies' should not be supported on unemployment benefits. The `industrial citizenship' disciplinary regime evoked the previously latent figure of the `dole bludger' to protect real workers from incursion by loafers. The figure of the `dole bludger' represented a configuration of social relationships whereby the working class was protecting itself through the state.

These beliefs formed the core of a rationality crisis that lasted well into the 1980s. During the early 1970s support of non-workers on unemployment benefits represented a contradiction in the state's duty to support the commodity form of social relationships around which capitalist society revolved. Although the Labor government initially tried to change the role of the state in this way, at least in the unemployment benefit policy area, they were unable to resist the pressure to support capitalism's demand to support real workers and discipline those threatening attachment to forms of activity (surfing and communal living) that did not rest in the commodity form.

As in the 1930's, unemployment grew to the extent that `dole bludgers' were no longer a viable identity to be applied to the jobless. Even though the Fraser government continued to increase work test discipline and surveillance throughout the late 1970s, they were unable to solve what was developing as a legitimacy crisis. Workers were not employed and capital was being drained through low levels of investment and the increasing cost of unemployment benefits. In other words the state was not effectively performing its function. This resulted in a further rationality crisis manifest in a public service union work test ban. By the late 1970s the figure of the dole bludger was reduced in credibility (aided by resistance from the unemployed workers' movement and the critical welfare sector). Public service workers felt themselves to acting against the interests of the public they thought they were serving. The state was literally split between front line personnel and political and policy elites. The act of work test discipline began to take on contradictery forms.

The Department of Social Security's procedure manual underwent a complete re-write in 1971. Very little had changed since the 1960 amendments. In fact, most of the 1958 procedures found their way verbatim into the 1971 manual which was organised along different lines to what had been the case for over 20 years. Most importantly, the 1971 manual contained instructions for DSS and CES officers to watch out for `surfie and hippie types', to negatively work test people (mainly youth) because of appearance, and to prevent school leavers receiving unemployment benefits for six weeks. These and other manual changes reflected and enacted struggles between conservative federal institutions and a youth culture with different ideas of appropriate forms of relationships with labour markets.

Post-war work test policy and practice had, since the Second World War, been contained within an unbroken problem of idleness that sought to protect the figure of the industrial citizen as real worker in the welfare safety net. The disciplinary potential of work testing remained, as in previous periods, an affirmation of what the rational worker was not. Anti-youth culture sentiments expressed in the `surfie and hippie types' clause was manifestation of the latent potential of work testing to address threats to the hegemony of `labourism' implied in the figure of the worker as `industrial citizen'.

Publicly hunting `surfie and hippie types' reaffirmed the state as a guardian of working class interests. UB administrators became embattled stalwarts of working class imagery, valiantly `swooping down' on misfits. `Surfie and hippie types' remained principle figures in `dole bludger' discourse throughout 1970's and into the early 1980's. Their figures dominated discipline enacted on school leavers and people not willing to go where there were thought to be more jobs.

Surfie and Hippie Types

Figure 7. 1 shows that the sharp rise in unemployment benefit receipts began around 1974. From that point onward, unemployment rates and percentage of budget spent on unemployment benefits (Figure 7. 2) continued to rise. However, the figure of the `dole bludger', constructed around that of the `surfie and hippie' type, was constituted three years earlier. `Surfie and hippie' hedonism threatened established `labourist' ideals of appropriate forms of labour force participation. `Surfies and hippies' wanted to live and work in places and at jobs that gave them a sense of satisfaction, that was seemingly incomprehensible to conservative voices. Disciplinary machinery established in 1944 was turned on those suspected of being `surfies and hippies'.

The act of constructing these categories in work testing's disciplinary gaze effectively appropriated youth **in general** as a body within which the figures of `dole bludgers' were placed. By the time unemployment began to escalate in 1974, youth in general were constituted as the bearers of an intolerable motivation crisis. Figure 7.3 shows unemployed persons aged 16-24 as a percentage of total unemployed. Over the period 1970 - 1986, this varied by almost 20 points. Figure 7.4 shows numbers of newspaper articles in major Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra newspapers that contained commentary on `dole bludging'. It may be seen that peaks and troughs in the amount of `dole bludger' discourse correspond to peaks and troughs in the extent of youth unemployment in relation to total unemployment.

Vilification of youth, or rather, the figure of the `dole bludger' associated with them, corresponded to increases in the salience of youth out of work. The post war `baby boom' ensured that youth were a higher proportion of population. The point is made here that `dole bludging' attached itself to youth in the early 1970s as a reaction to a threat of motivation crisis stemming from perception of widespread involvement in counter-cultural forms. `Dole bludging' then became a legitimation device for labour market discipline into the 1980s. Disciplinary procedures and knowledges mainly practiced on the `hard core' unemployed of the long boom, shifted in response to new pressures. These shifts set off a chain of events that eventually produced an unemployed subject forgotten since the 1930's. During the 1980's, the figure of the pathologically unemployed began to displace the `dole bludger'. The pathological subject was ironically constructed in resistance to `dole bludger' discourse. Although no longer predominantly a worker class enemy, the pathological subject was constructed as a problem to itself, and the state a benevolent though determined reformer.

Whitlam's `Reformist' (Pusey, 1991) Labor government came to power in December 1972. They were intent on reconfiguring relations between state and civil society that made the 1971 `surfie and hippie types' clause a possibility. However, work test as well as other reform initiatives were couched in a renewed discourse on rights and citizenship that began to lose cogency in the face of a conservative revival. The state was resuscitated as an agency legitimately regulating working class identities.

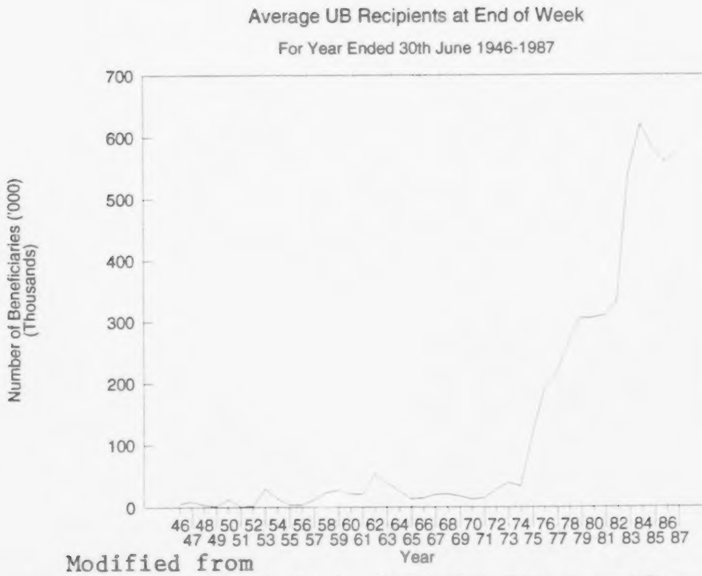
The 1971 intensification of discipline was broken during 1973. Bill Hayden, as Minister for Social Security, sought to stem a process that had developed over 80 years. Although Hayden generally failed to achieve this, an examination of the attempt to do so reveals the resilience of the role the state had established for itself following the second world war.

71-72 Work Testing Surfies and Hippies

1971's focus on youth as a problematic class of unemployed was aimed at empowering the DSS to deal with a burgeoning number of youth on their rolls who were apparently not of the traditional working class stuff. In December 1971, a memo was issued by an Assistant Director-General of Social Services that the Director-General had decided that `girls under the age of 18 years of age [could] be expected to] leave home to seek employment' for the purposes of work testing (ADOSS, 12/10/1971). The Labor opposition spokesman on Social Security, L. J. Reynolds reacted the following February when the new provision became effective. Reynolds argued that the new provision `smack[ed] of manpower direction' and aimed at merely reducing the number of people on benefit rather than acting in the best interests of the unemployment benefit claimant (**The Australian**, 2/16/1972). Reynolds' attack on the Department's rule change was the first major political punch thrown since 1944 in public debate over social security administrative rules.

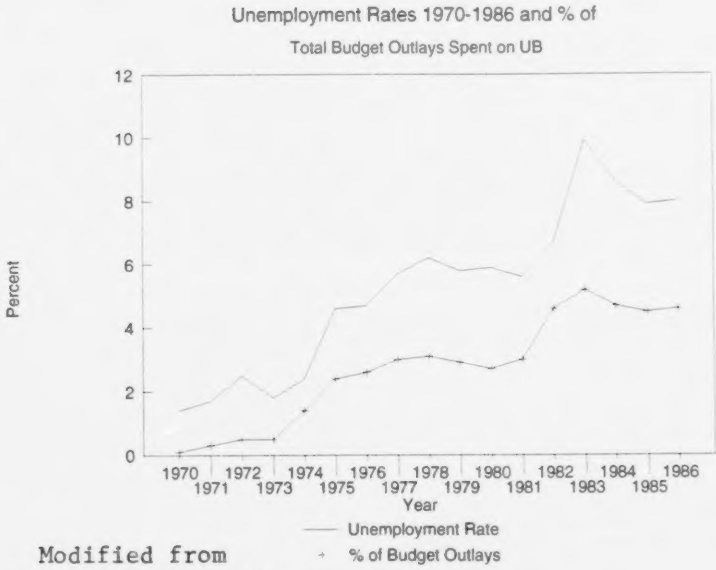
A DSS manual amendment dated October 5th, 1971 enacted a further response to a perceived change in youth's willingness to work. Appendix A, Part (1), shows the new procedure manual text in comparison to what it replaced.

Figure 7. 1



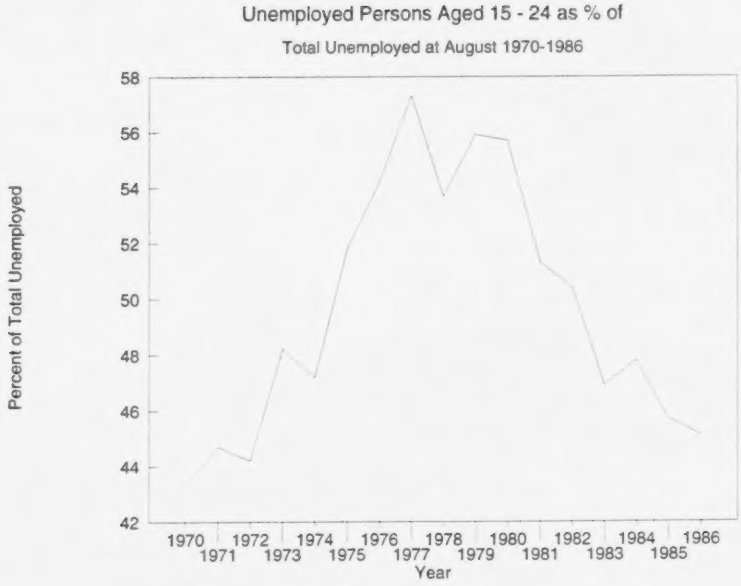
Modified from
Sources: Cass (1988:69), Kewley (1972:278), DSS Annual Report (1970:77)

Figure 7. 2



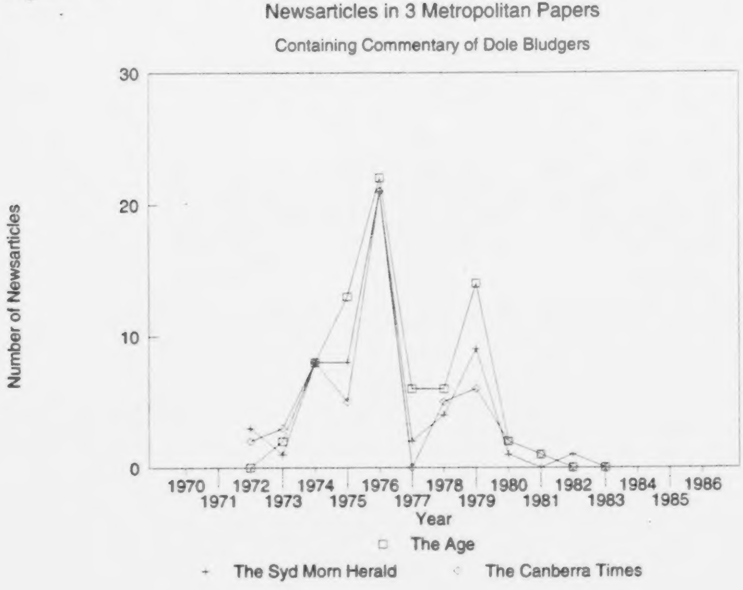
Modified from
Sources: Cass (1988:69), Fisher (1987:12)

Figure 7. 3



Modified from
Source: Fisher (1987:32)

Figure 7. 4



Source: Australian Parliamentary Library News Article Files

This instruction marked the first radical change in conception of post-war illegitimate unemployment benefit claimants. The manual now included:

> (c) The need to ensure that a claimant is genuinely looking for work applies especially to:
>
> (i) members of "Hippie" colonies;
> (ii) members of the "Surfie" element;
> (iii) new arrivals in the area whose apparent purpose is other than to seek full-time work (for example holidays, tourism, or even the organisation of and participation in public protest demonstrations).
>
> (d) Unemployment benefit is not ordinarily to be granted to young single persons who come within any of the above categories.

Single male claimants had, even during the nineteenth century, been suspected of not being fully drawn into labour force commitment. An eye was to be kept out for Larikins, and if caught they were to be sent on to work. These new youth were different. The hedonism they displayed was far more threatening than the mere inquisitive and temporary exploration of energetic youth. Rather, the `New breed of unemployed' were making statements such as "A job? A steady nine-to-fiver? It's death, man, without the dignity" (**The Advertiser**, 11/8/1972).

Married as well as single youth were subjected to increased intensity of scrutiny. Those thought to be `following the sun', mainly on the New South Wales northern coastal areas were immediately suspected of possessing weak labour force commitment, and having moved to coastal areas where unemployment would be assured (**The National Times**, 11/13-18/1972). Although the "Surfie" and "Hippie" clause was established in October 1971, it had been operating informally in some locations prior to that date. A memo from a District Employment Officer located in a coastal Sydney suburb and dated 4/18/1972, indicated that some had been applying the spirit of the new provisions without difficulty for `some time:'

> For some time now, the staff at this office have discouraged surfies and other itinerants abounding in the district from making Manly their temporary base for unemployment benefit, whilst they follow their brands of leisure, by offering them any employment available on the Southern and Western lines, i.e. Burwood, Mascot, etc. Since the majority of them are not genuine work seekers, they invariably decline and insist on local work only. They are normally work tested on this basis. (ADOL, 4/18/1972).

On October 21, 1972, The then Minister for Social Security, Mr Wentworth said to those present at a Victorian Council of Social Services Meeting in Melbourne, that the DSS was having trouble with those living in communes. Wentworth declared: "we are in trouble in the Department through a number of people living off unemployment benefits deliberately" (**The Canberra Times**, 10/21/1972). These comments came just a few days after the Minister for Labour and Industry, Mr Hewitt had claimed that increases in unemployment rates recently announced were due to increases in young "drop-outs" not wanting to work (**Daily Telegraph**, 10/18/1972). The New South Wale's Liberal Premier, Sir Robert Askin was appalled with these reports and argued that the Labor Government's focus on rising unemployment as an election issue was spurious, and that the `professional unemployed' were artificially inflating unemployment figures (**The Australian**, 10/18/1972).

The Sydney Morning Herald published two consecutive articles in late 1972, addressing the issue of whether or not a large scale `alternative lifestyle' was developing, and whether or not it was being financed fraudulently through unemployment benefits. The articles, entitled **`Easy riders of the surf prefer work to dole'** and **`The hippies of the valley'**, reported interviews with surfers, local business people, and residents of New South Wales' Mulumbimby and Byron Bay and Queensland's Coolangatta (**Sydney Morning Herald**, 11/4/1972 and 11/6/1972). The latter two locations were popular surf board riding venues, the former a centre for developing communal farms. Both articles described their subjects as inappropriately maligned young and not so young people who worked hard for their recreation (deserved to surf) and were not receiving benefits. The Mullumbimby commune dwellers made a modest living at selling farm produce and got on well with their curious but friendly, `straight' neighbours. In other words, these people certainly surfed and lived communaly, but not on the dole. Further, they were not **really** all that deviant, and probably if anything, were enlightened. The New South Wales Police were portrayed as ridiculous, and overly reactionary with fruitless searching for large scale drug plantations.

The Canberra Times (11/7/1972) and Melbourne's **Herald** were not as dismissive. Their articles, published during the same week as **The Sydney Morning Herald's** features, made "surfies" (pejorative for surfer) look similar to the `track rationers' of the 1930's. **`Surfers who have no job told to move on'** (**The Canberra Times**, 11/7/1972) and **`A `Push' for idle surfies'** (**The Herald**, 11/6/1972) both began their stories describing a valiant Department of Social Services aligned with Police ousting the virulent `surfie element' referred to in the DSS procedure manual amendment. **`A `Push' for idle surfies**' described in its first paragraph how:

> Groups of surfers have been moving into coastal towns where no work is available and drawing unemployment benefits while they spend their time surfing, a Social Welfare Spokesman said today. (**The Herald**, 11/6/1972)

Readers were confronted with a small horde (40 in number) of hedonistic and jobless youth, who descended like locusts on the quiet coastal Victorian community of Torquay. Police and the Social Services department were portrayed as rescuing local residents from a band of lawless hedonists living off the backs of a generalized hardworking community. The disciplinary state was seen to be responding correctly, swiftly and actively, in response to affront to the working class.

These allegations and responses, marked the beginning of a ten year heated political and administrative discourse over interpretation of the identities of unemployment benefit claimants. It is not argued that the assertion of illegitimate lifestyle choice as a cause of high unemployment was one made by malicious politicians trying to find a scapegoat for flagging economic policy.[1] Rather, an entrenched `labourist' (Castles, 1985) discourse asserted itself in opposition to the growing threat of progressive movements, represented in the Whitlam opposition and in the emergence of surfing's and Mullumbimby's hedonism.

Hayden's Reforms in '73

Whitlam's Labor government came to power in December 1972. Bill Hayden, the new Minister for Social Services, was outraged at the DSS's pejorative treatment of unemployment beneficiaries. On the 21st of December 1972, Hayden wrote a letter to Clyde Cameron, the Minister of Labour and National Service, recommending that a joint DSS/CES committee be established to recommend changes to the work test procedures. The text of that letter is reproduced in full below. It might be read as a manifesto of Labor's welfare rights platform:

> Dear Clyde,
>
> I am concerned about general philosophical values underlying much of the official thinking towards unemployment benefit recipients' rights to receive these payments. I believe it essential that we develop a new philosophy based on the belief that benefits are a right and not part of a charitable process bequeathed from a rather dark part of the Victorian Era. For instance it was recently put to me by an official of my Department, that it would be reasonable to suspend unemployment benefits if the appearance of the recipient was such as to be regarded as acceptable to an employer.
>
> The case was quoted of a young man with long hair, a beard, dressed in jeans and bare footed. It was suggested that no employer would want to employ a young man of such appearance and that it would be in his interest to alter his appearance to a more acceptable state for an employer. On this sort of assumption it was felt justifiable to cancel such a person's unemployment benefit. I find such views unacceptable and have told the head of the Department of Social Security.
>
> I have pointed out to him that it is not the prerogative of employers to dictate conventional standards for the rest of the community. The people have certain rights in this respect in that in a free, tolerant, liberal society, where people's rights as human beings are respected and where the right to be different - where there is no personal danger to others - must be upheld as a basic civil liberty, than the sort of thinking which has apparently guided official attitudes towards the rights of such people for social benefit services must be changed to accord with the philosophical values which we believe appropriate to a free society. (ADOSS, 12/21/1972)

Hayden tried to alter the work test by extending a good deal of autonomy to the claimant in definition of what constituted labour force participation. The process to review core work test procedures began on January 15th, 1973 with a letter to the Director-General specifying just a few alterations in lieu of a complete review (ADOSS, 1/15/1973). Department of Labour and Department of Social Security Officers met on February 26th to draft an amendment which would be in keeping with Hayden's policy agenda (ADOSS, 3/1/1973) and on April 19th a memorandum was sent from the Director-General to State Directors of Social Security containing the amended procedure manual items (ADOSS, 4/19/1973).

Hayden sought to erase the "dole bludger" image explicit and implicit in several work test regulations. "Surfie" and "Hippie" clauses as well as other explicit normative claimant interpretations were deleted and in some places strong reprimands to conservative policy were directly written into the manuals as reprimands for conservative practice. Appendix A, Part (2) compares old and new forms of DSS work test regulations.[2]

The amendment to section 2/F/2 (`Work Test') substantially narrowed the range of `suitable work' that could be offered to claimants. Work of an `equivalent' kind that could be offered to a claimant in lieu of work in a `usual' occupation was narrowed down to `of a type or nature in which the person usually engages and in which the person's experience qualifications and training would be used.' Claimants who had little labour market experience such as school leavers and women returning to the work force after a prolonged absence, should only be offered jobs `in keeping with their personal preference, abilities, qualifications and training.' An unprecedented degree of occupational choice had been granted.

Principle alterations to section 2/F/3 involved deletion of references to `Surfies' and `Hippies' and insertion of a comment that a list of employers contacted should not be demanded of beneficiaries. Hayden's desire to relieve departmental pressure on youth may also be seen in the deletion of subsection 3/A/7(e)(viii), which requested that officers investigating long term beneficiaries under the age of 21 might inquire as to whether there were relatives located in areas where better employment opportunities existed.

Two notes, both versions of Hayden's January 15th text, administratively interpreted by the February 16th joint Departmental working party, also appeared at the end of section 2/F/3.[3] The following comparison of Hayden's original notes and their bureaucratic translation reveals that even in a `tolerant social democracy' a `hard core' claimant might be lying in order to avoid work. Hayden's revisions aimed at reducing the use of age, appearance, gender and work preference as evidence to suggest `dole bludging'. However, the idea that there **were** dole bludgers was kept intact in administrative forms (particularly in E. S. 98) and even in Hayden's justification for his changes, some of which are reproduced below. The text eventually appearing in the manuals was different than Hayden's original text. Hayden's language about democracy and freedom found no place in administrative rules.

Manual Text Section 2/F/3	**Bill Hayden's Original Text**[4]
Note 1: A person should not be Denied benefit merely because an employer or employers disapprove of his appearance and on those grounds decline to engage him.	Employers do not have the right to determine under penalty of denied unemployment benefit acceptable

	dress and appearance in a free, tolerant social democracy.
Note 2: Beneficiaries should not required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment.	The practice of requiring beneficiaries to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment can be dispensed with. Hard core claimants against whose imposing this practice is directed can easily lie their way around the requirement while genuine work seekers require no such goad.

Hayden reiterated this position in his April 2nd press release on the changes:

> I believe that most people sincerely wish to be employed, both because of society's pressures and their own self-esteem. It is true that there may be a very small group of people who take advantage of benefits but they will continue to do so whether work tests and eligibility are made more stringent or not. I would rather see a few people slip through the system (and my department will always be on the look-out for these people, and will take appropriate action to discipline abuses) than unfairly penalise people who legitimately seek work. I certainly do not believe in an economy which operates with a permanent pool of unemployed, and the Labor government will always work for a situation where everyone who wishes to is helped to find gainful employment. (ADOSS, 4/2/1973).

Section 2/F/16 `Unemployables' was substantially altered to take out references to personal control over unemployability. However the disciplinary partitions between those displaying social incapacities such as `dirty appearance, laziness, habitual drunkenness, reluctance to enter employment', and those displaying `physical or mental incapacities' were kept intact. Although the words `for reasons within their own capacity to correct' and `for reasons outside their own control' were removed, the general thrust of the distinction remained. Form E. S. 98 still constituted `Undesirables' as separate from E. S. 97's legitimate `Unemployables,' irrespective of the fact that the terms `Undesirables' and `Unemployables' had been removed from the procedure manual. A note was included at the head of this section to the effect that officers should not confuse the lazy, the dirty, the drunk or those reluctant to enter employment, with those referred to in 2/F/3. These were of a qualitatively different kind of people to the `hippies and surfies' of new work test practice.

Similarly, references to `unpleasant or undesirable characteristics' of long term beneficiaries were also removed.[5] `Undesirables', now without a name as such , were still the `hard core' unemployed for whom unemployment benefits were not meant.[6] Certainly `drunkenness' was undergoing re-interpretation. Claimants who might have normally been written in E. S. 98 were to have special benefit extended to them.

The substance of section 2/F/23 (relating to postponements) was deleted in its entirety. It was no longer possible to postpone benefit as a punishment for voluntarily ceasing work without a good and sufficient reason, misconduct as a worker, or refusal to accept a job. Rather, claimants were to be either given benefit or not given benefit. This effectively took a major disciplinary tool away from employment officers wishing to reform their more recalcitrant clients. Of all the changes made this was explicitly resisted by the Director-General of Social Security. Hayden had argued that `administrative discretion allowing the postponement of benefits [was] arbitrary, coercive and in its nature authoritarian' (ADOSS, 3/1/1973). The Director-General responded to Hayden on March 1st:

> In order to administer the work test provision of the Act, it seems essential to be able to exercise some form of postponement provision. Would you agree to allow its continued use but at the higher level of say not below the Assistant Director, Unemployment and Sickness Benefits at State Headquarters? The actual incidence of cases in which the provision has been exercised in the past is not known, but it is thought that the number would be small. (ADOSS, 3/1/1973)

An order of administrative authority over the definition and discipline of `worker' that had been relatively stable for more than twenty five years was being disturbed. According to Murphy (1980: 95) `Hayden shared Labor's suspicion that the public service was too closely identified with the previous conservative governments and out of sympathy with Labor's reformist goals.' Immediately following several draft versions of his procedure manual alterations, Hayden was quoted in the press putting forward his `philosophy.' He argued that for many years the administration of unemployment benefits had been less than ideal, and involved `coercion and repression' (**The Age**, 4/13/1973). Hayden was implying that the Department's practice would now be whipped into shape to accord with a new vision of economic as social citizenship rather than the reverse.

Unfortunately, no instruction had been issued by the Director-General to the State Directors requiring a change in official procedure until more than 3 months after the first press reports appeared in January.[7] At least one senior departmental member was concerned enough about the instability of work test procedure to make sure the officers in **his** state did not terminate or disallow **anyone's** unemployment benefit on work test grounds (ADOSS, 4/9/1973):

> Pending the receipt of Advice from the Director-General, no benefit should be refused suspended or cancelled because it is considered that the claimant/beneficiary does not meet the requirements of the work test. In any case where under the policy which has been followed in the past it is felt that benefit should **not** be paid, the papers should be submitted with a statement of the facts to the Assistant Director (U. S. B.) for reference to the Director-General. [original emphasis]

Departmental Reactions

Hayden argued that `objectionable' procedural instructions were `reflections of the philosophy and values of previous governments and are in no way to be seen as a reflection of public servant's attitudes' (**The Canberra Times**, 5/2/1973). This was not quite in accord with his own experience of departmental resistance to his initiatives.

On May 11, 1973, shortly after the memo with the new procedures was sent out, L. J. Daniels, The Director-General of the DSS wrote a long memo to Hayden arguing in transparently cloaked terms, that he thought the new provisions were already being abused. This was an `I told you so' communication. Attached to it were case histories of seven claimants being considered for work test failure:

> Minister:
>
> In determining eligibility for unemployment benefit regard is had to the broad policy lines laid down by you:
>
> - social security payments are a right rather than a privilege.
> - work offered to people registered for employment must be equivalent to the work they normally do.
> - the job offered must be one in which the person's experience, qualifications and training can be used so that skilled workers do not have to take labouring jobs or lose unemployment benefit.

> - merely because an employer does not find a registrant's appearance acceptable is not sufficient justification to debar him from unemployment benefit.
> - the statutory authority of postponement is not to be exercised.
> - persons are either entitled or not entitled, according to the work test, to unemployment benefit.
>
> I believe that the Department's administration is now reflecting your policy. For your information I am attaching a schedule of case histories and the decisions proposed to illustrate to you the type of problems that arise in these cases. I shall be grateful for any comments.(ADOSS, 5/11/1973)

Hayden's reactions were written in his own hand and initialled on the central office copy of the memo. Hayden thought that either his department was deliberately constructing stereo-typical `dole bludgers' out of real people or that there was an endemic and unconscious propensity to do so:

> I am familiar with the first case (L .....) and he was justified in protesting strongly. Dr Weinholt [the previous Director-General of Social Security] has acknowledged this to me. I am disappointed in the way in which Hendai's behaviour is pictured by the Department. I hope that other department reports on personal features are more reliable. (ADOSS, 5/11/1973)

The information contained in these claimant's histories was broken up into name, age, marital status, benefit history, comments by the commonwealth employment service, and departmental comments.[8] The latter three categories contained information about each claimant to support the notion that a work test failure had occurred. Each claimant was presented as a Bohemian of one sort or another. All were single, aged between 18 and 25 years, 5 were male, 2 female. They valued locations for surfing and communal opportunities above employment potential and generally were only willing to work at a narrow range of jobs, some of which they were portrayed as having no hope of getting. The cases selected by the Director-General, as a whole, were an amalgam of surfies, hippies and drop-outs.

Community Reactions

Hayden's belief that unemployment benefit claimants should have a great deal of autonomy over job choice and personal style was certainly not shared by the business community. C. W. Branson, president of the South Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, believed that there was some `exploiting of the welfare state ... by malingerers [who] tend to be under 25s who think work is for the birds' and refuse work at unskilled jobs offered by the Commonwealth Employment Service (**The Advertiser**, 2/19/1973). T. M. Gregg, The Industrial Director of South Australia's Employers Federation, argued that `the under 25s were `so choosy that they apply for jobs but stop for only half a day' (**The Advertiser**, 2/20/1973).

Reporting of Hayden's initiatives began as early as January, 1973. Some newspapers such as Melbourne's **The Sun Pictorial** (1/5/1973) heralded state benevolence with the title `New Deal for the Jobless'. However, most followed a more conservative line such as Melbourne's **Age** (1/19/1973) article `Hairy Jobless can get dole.' As early as July 1973, more public pressure began to build against Hayden's initiatives. Queensland's conservative Minister for Industrial Affairs, Fred Campbell argued that university students and hippies from the south were illegitimately swelling Cairns and Gold Coast unemployed populations during the winter months, by registering for work as `glass blowers and wood carvers.' (**Financial Review**, 7/17/1973) Campbell demanded an assurance from Hayden that `tax-payers are not supporting people who refuse to work' (**The Courier-Mail**, 7/17/1973). By the end of 1973, administrators' fears that Hayden's benefit reforms were being exploited by unscrupulous Hippies, were heard around the country. In Queensland a DSS official was reported as saying that

> `the Department was aware of the drop-outs who felt society "owed them a living." These were the people who turned up late for interviews, were slovenly dressed and generally did everything possible to convince a potential employer that they were unsuitable for any job'. (**The Courier-Mail**, 12/16/1973).

C. W. Bronson in South Australia spoke out against students receiving U. B. during the summer vacation, and emphasised the Department of Social Security was warning youth that they could be `prosecuted for making false applications' (**The Advertiser**, 12/11/1973). The Australian Broadcasting Commission produced a television show featuring Geoff Watson interviewing three young people in Melbourne articulating archetypical `alternative' lifestyles on the dole (**This Day Tonight**, 11/14/1973). In effect these were `portraits' of the dole bludgers addressed in the October 1971, `Hippie' provisions:

> **Compare:** In these days of booming economy and full employment, it might surprise some to learn that there are still around 40,000 people receiving unemployment benefits. And even more surprising and disturbing, is the fact revealed by the Department of Labour that

more than half, 54 per cent, in fact, are aged under 24. Who are these young people and why aren't they working? Can't they get jobs? Or won't they? Geoffrey Watson met some of the young unemployed in Melbourne today:

ELLEN

Watson: All of these young people are part of Australia's growing legion of unemployed. Robbie, aged 22 and Kevin are both student drop-outs now engaged in unpaid voluntary work, Ellen was a P.M.G telephonist and hasn't worked for eight months .... all are drawing $23.00 a week unemployment benefits.

Watson: Why do you choose not to work?

Ellen: Because I've become so disillusioned with jobs.

Watson: Surely there must be something you're good at, that you could do and earn a living?

Ellen: Yes, all I want to do is live in the country and you know, I really love the country and that's the way I want to live, I suppose I'll have to get a job sometime, so I can earn money to have a place of my own. But in the meantime, I don't feel I need to justify living on the dole.

Watson: A lot of people would probably disagree with you there, a lot of people would resent being taxed to pay your dole money.

Ellen: Yes, I suppose its a very selfish attitude of mine but it doesn't bother me in the slightest.

BOY AND GIRL

Watson: Do you know of people, of large numbers of people in this city on the dole, living together?

Boy: Yea, there's a hell of a lot of people, a lot of people classified as unemployed, so to speak, but they're sort of doing more valuable things than putting nuts and bolts on some car that G. M. H. was going to kill people with anyway. They're sort of involved in a sort of creative process, rather than a sort of stagnant work process if you like.

Watson: You're not apparently doing anything at all. Isn't it a very boring existence?

Girl: I make things, and draw a lot, I like painting along with writing, I'd like to be a sort of professional artist and play with the cat, sort of everything that happens.

Watson: But to receive money from the state you must satisfy the Department of Social Security that you are making some genuine effort to try and get employment. Now obviously if you're to continue doing your own thing this way you must lie to them. Now, can you justify that?

Boy: I don't really consider it lying to them, I don't know, its sort of like, they've been devious in respect that they give people grants for you know different things, well we're sort of taking a grant, if you like.

The youth presented in this television show and in the Director-General's description of work test cases (Appendix C) were clearly not working class. In fact, they overtly snubbed their noses at `workers' who found meaning in occupations involving repetitive work. Hayden's attempt to legitimate receipt of unemployment benefit by liberalising application procedure of work testing began to back-fire. Early in January 1974, the Department Social Security itself was accused of lax administration by two Sydney newspapers reporting the results of a 1963 report. The report placed those registered with the CES as unemployed into six categories: (1) `reported without work and looking for work', (2) `working for the whole week', (3) `not in the labour force (not looking for work)', (4) `uncontactable because wrong address given to The CES', (5) `others reported as having found jobs during the week' and (6) `others unable to be contacted for uncertain reasons' (**The Bulletin**, 1/12/1974). The group `reported without work and looking for work' was merely an administrative interpretation of non-problematic clients. That is, claimants with stable addresses and regular attendance at CES offices. As they comprised less than 40% of the total registered unemployed (not necessarily receiving unemployment benefits), the rest, more than 60% of the sample were taken to be `dole bludgers'. The administrative logic of claimant categorisation according to administrative information gathering procedures, was transmuted into cultural categories by the press. In other words, categories of recipient established in work test procedures were taken as real cultural identities by the press.

The Daily Mirror's (1/9/1974) Warwick Costin reported `Cheats Exposed! Millions paid out in huge dole fraud' and **The Bulletin's** Peter Samual reported a `Multi-million dole scandal':

> The Whitlam Government has further loosened a loose administration by ordering more lenient interpretation of the rules as to the kinds of job offers which registrants must accept to remain on the register. Minimal Departmental

> resources are devoted to policing the rules and detecting fraud. (The Bulletin, 1/12/1974)

'74 Reversals

Clyde Cameron responded to the press reports by pitting the logic of the data categorisation of the offending Departmental survey against the vague images constructed by the **Bulletin** and **Daily Telegraph**. The argument was over accuracy of interpretation, not the interpretation itself. Cameron was never totally committed to a defence of Hayden's initiatives. Nor was he willing to resist growing back-bench and cabinet pressure for dismantling the changes.

Cameron was a **traditional** Labor party member. Although committed to Whitlam's democratic socialism, he come to the party through a trade union route in South Australia. Cameron wanted `a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.' Early in January 1974, Cameron renewed his efforts at lobbying cabinet for approval of a retraining scheme requiring long term unemployment benefit claimants to retrain or lose their benefit (**Daily Telegraph**, 1/8/1974, **The Advertiser**, 1/8/1974, **Financial Review**, 1/8/1974). Such a proposal was clearly at odds with Hayden's approach to unemployment benefit administration.

Theoretically a `worker' was extended opportunity to remain jobless irrespective of the fact that he or she was in a job requiring skills for which demand was declining. Even the National Times (a journal which had since at least 1972 and would throughout the eighties, remained a strong supporter of unemployment benefit claimant rights), carried an article promoting Cameron's position. Cameron's proposal to link unemployment benefit requirements with a retraining scheme met with support from the conservative right. Mr Rafferty, the Victorian Minister for Labour and Industry (Liberal), quipped that the federal government was responsible for `drop-outs, no-hopers and hippies enjoying a no-work bonanza at the expense of the tax-payer... These people were a burden to tax-payers and an economic waste' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 2/20/1974). However, Rafferty also expressed support for Cameron's retraining scheme arguing that:

> most people would rather receive $60 as a training allowance than $23 unemployment Relief... It was unfortunate that the commonwealth had not acted promptly to put Mr. Cameron's scheme into operation. It is obvious that Mr Whitlam and many of his colleagues are not interested in dealing with the urgent

> problems facing Australia or are simply unaware of what's happening. (Raferty, 1/7/1974[1367])

Cameron and the Opposition were not the only source of critique of Hayden's work test initiatives. The Narabri branch of the Australian Labour Party had passed a resolution that those found to be `work shy' should be put to work on local council projects (ADOL, 5/30/1974). Cameron replied to that resolution that `it was not the policy of this government to require that unemployed persons undertake work merely for the purpose of exacting some kind of return from them for their unemployment benefit payments' (ADOL, 5/30/1974). Hayden began to ally himself more closely with conservative forces in the Labor party. By mid 1974, Hayden had sided with Cameron to reverse most of the important 1973 changes. Hayden responded to Narabri resolution that it was `expected that the amended work test, and the guide lines following its application, will minimise abuses and identify the work shy more effectively' (ADOL, 5/30/1974). Cameron's conservatism found strong support in the chorus declaring indignation at the idea that many people were enjoying themselves at the tax-payers expense.

The primary discourse revolved around the issue of whether or not the Department of Social Security and Commonwealth Employment Service was efficient at preventing people from claiming to be unemployed when they were really separating themselves from the society paying for them. In newspaper articles containing the public debate, questions were overwhelmingly framed in the form: How many people want to `bludge'? Are they prevented from doing so by the government departments responsible for administration of unemployment benefits?

What do `Bludgers' look like and how many are there?

It was almost unanimous who `bludgers' were. Physically they were young, mostly male (though not entirely), and preferred not to groom themselves with haircuts, frequent washing, clean or adequately matching clothes. Behaviourally, they tended to show disrespect for authority and were nomadic. Their habitat was, as administrators in 1971 had found, beautiful coastal places such as Queensland's Gold Coast, New South Wales' Nambucca Heads, Byron Bay, Coollangatta, or Victoria's Phillip Island. They could also be found inland at places like the Daintree Rain Forest or Mullumbimby. `Bludger's' achieved their aims by deliberately failing job interviews, by registering for ridiculous occupations and by being in places where little work could be offered by the CES.

These caricatures of unemployment benefit claimants found public constitution in newspapers across the country. Between July 1973 and the beginning of April 1974, 37 articles in 13 newspapers (listed in Appendix B) were found to have contained at least some of these elements of work shy youth.

Cameron's much reported outrage at the suspected use of unemployment benefits to support the caricatured `dole bludger' was the catalyst for establishment of an inter-departmental working committee to study the administration of unemployment benefits. Hayden's attempt to reconstitute the DSS's gaze away from one that would find the "Hippie and Surfie" element, as a manifestation of a popular construction, was swept aside in the wake of an `expert' working party which:

> saw as its primary task the examination of the existing instructions themselves, the manner of their application and the adequacy or otherwise of the communication between the Departments of Labour and Social Security. It decided that it should approach this task with the object of ensuring that any abuses which are now occurring do not continue while at the same time protecting the interests of the genuine unemployed. (ADOL, March 1974: 2)

Protecting the interests of the ` genuine unemployed' involved returning to Department of Labour and Social Security officials autonomy over decisions of what constituted a reasonable job offer, what constituted an acceptable reason to move locations, and what constituted reasonable dress for interviews. These disciplinary ends were addressed by adding a procedure manual section explicitly focusing on the discovery of the caricatured `dole bludger'.

Appendix A, Part (3) compares the version of the relevant sections of the procedure manual as per Hayden's alterations to the new version derived directly from the working party's report. Although "Surfies" and "Hippies" are not explicitly mentioned, their caricature is reproduced verbally, as clearly as if `mug shots' were drawn. Section 2/F/3 of the procedure manual now included:

> (c) Applicants will be considered not to have satisfied the work test if by their own actions they indicate they are not genuinely seeking employment, for example -

> (i) they deliberately choose to make themselves unavailable for work by moving to a location where no such work is available;
>
> (ii) they deliberately make themselves unacceptable to employers;
>
> (iii) they seek only occupations for which they are not qualified or which are extremely rare and in which vacancies would rarely, if ever, be available in their area of residence. (there have been reports of people seeking to register for example as a wine taster in Cairns, a poker machine mechanic in Victoria, a hospital `orderly where there is no hospital or a customs agent where there is no port or airport.)
>
> (iv) they adopt a style of presentation (e.g. dress) which is clearly inappropriate for the employment sought. If such applicants persist in this attitude they are to be referred only to employment to which their presentation is appropriate. However, in order that they may not be subject to undue prejudice by certain employers they are to be given a second opportunity and if they refuse the second referral they will not be accepted as having satisfied the work test.

The definition of `suitable work' as the offer of work of an equivalent kind was expanded to `work of a type or nature in which the person usually engages **or** [(rather than **and**)] in which the person's experience, qualifications and training **could** ([rather than **would**)] be used.' Six words (italicised) were added to the section referring to the treatment of ex-students and other first time labour force entrants. School leavers would now be required to take work `in keeping with their personal preference, **as far as practicable and their** abilities, aptitudes, or experience, qualifications and training.' The working party commented in their report: `The effect of these amendments is to provide a slight tightening up and will enable employment officers to refer an applicant to a wider range of employment' (ADOL, March 1974:4). This was one way of legitimating reinstatement of disciplinary devices **with** the warrant of the claimant. That is employment officers are seen as being hampered in their job placement function by the absence of work test discipline.

Cameron's and other's sense of personal disgust at `dole bludging' was frequently amplified in the press throughout the following year. Militaristic terms such as `Blitz' and `Crack-down' came into common usage and eventually proved to be a permanent feature of the `dole bludger' lexicon. Cameron's was a discourse of excommunication. The body politic, the deserving **real** workers, would be cleansed of the parasite, the worst enemy of the traditional left. `Society' made up of a traditional conception of `workers' would be protected by surveillance teams composed of parties state as their own congealed interest. A tri-partite group was established to study disciplinary action:

> I have received information from there [The Gold Coast] that generous unemployment benefits which are designed for deserving cases - people - genuinely seeking work - are being abused by a minority of surfies, hippies and drop-outs. Unions, employers and the government will be on the team. (The **Canberra Times**, 11/2/1974)

Influential members of the trade union movement were, on occasion, equally as bombastic. The ACTU's Bob Hawke, argued that `These benefits shouldn't be squandered on people who are not prepared to work. People can't have an indefinite choice of jobs' (**Sunday Mail**, 2/16/1975). One unionist described as a `militant left-wing trade union boss' expressed a traditional working class antagonism to people with money who weren't appearing to have earned it from the callouses on their hands. According to The Secretary of the Transport Worker's Union, Arch Bevis:

> Some unemployed running around at the moment are the best fed and the best dressed among us. They can afford to run a car, go to the theatre, and meet their drinking and punting commitments. The government should consider cutting back the existing benefits to make people want to get work. I have a genuine concern for those people who cannot get work. But all the evidence before us indicates that a lot of people can afford to be unemployed. (**The Herald**, 2/14/1975)

The evidence that Bevis spoke of was most often in the form of arguments from employers who indignantly declared, that they couldn't find enough workers for the jobs they were offering. Fruit growers featured heavily in the press around late March and Early April, but at other times, industrialists could be heard complaining that they couldn't get low wage, low skill workers for their production processes (for example see **The Herald**, 2/13/1975, **The Advertiser**, 4/11/1975, **The Age**, 2/17/1975). The pub was apparently a popular place for Bevis' bloated unemployed to brag. One angry reader wrote to the **West Australian** complaining that the government's line on unemployment benefit policy wasn't hard enough:

> Here is a conversation I heard in a hotel: " good day, how are you going? - Me? Never better. Never better. "How come, you got a job? - what do you think I'm some kind of mug? I get the dole and have a casual job Friday night, Saturday and Sunday. "But wouldn't a full-time job be better? "I get the dole and between it and the casual work I get $112 a week and no tax to pay so why should I work 40 hours a week and pay tax?" (**The West Australian**, 5/14/1975)

The implication was that people preferred to be unemployed rather than working, either because they were Bevis' `bloated unemployed' (**The Herald**, 2/14/1975), who were, from Bevis' description, Labour aristocrats, or were Cameron's much hunted `Surfies, Hippies and Dropout's': single, mostly male non-conformists. Liberal party members were quick to attack what they saw as an opportunity to place the Labor Government in opposition to its traditional constituency:

> Queensland Liberal backbencher Mr Hodges said exploitation of unemployment benefits had become a widespread disease. "This government stands condemned for its encouragement of laziness. The nation can only proceed and flourish if the people are industrious. Why is work a dirty word today? This country does not owe the people in it anything, but the people do owe the country something." Mr Hodges gave a fictitious example of group of people living in a flat, all pooling unemployment funds. They could live quite comfortably, with plenty of money for rent and food and some left over, he said. He called on the government to take action to eliminate the "loafing dole set." (**The Herald**, 4/10/1975)

Stereotypical single male non-conformists were identified as a `jobless elite', and utilised by one right wing organisation, the Victorian Employers' Federation, to point to the fact that a strangely labour oriented government was attacking the working class by supporting its enemies. **The Australian** reported:

> "The government is paying out large sums of money to this group, creating a new elite, some of whom it would appear have no urgent desire of returning to the work-force, even when offered gainful employment." Workers who received substantial pay rises over the past 18 months in their efforts to combat inflation were now beginning to realise that much of the benefit was going to the "spendthrift" Federal Government in increased taxation. (**The Australian**, 4/28/1975)

The Labor party was anxious to recover traditional support. In February 1975 the Victorian Department of Social Security had more than doubled their number of investigative field officers from three to seven (**The Herald**, 2/26/1975). In May that year more officers had been added to field work. Bill Hayden argued that:

> `no fair minded Australian will tolerate a situation in which people are cheating other tax-payers by taking advantage of a system specifically designed to alleviate hardship. I am also sure that field officers, who face a difficult and delicate task in tracking down people cheating on unemployment benefits will get the full co-operation of the Australian Public' (**Hayden Press Statement**, 5/19/1975).

Surfie and Hippie Types

The pressure was on to find dole cheats. Although field officers played a role in detecting cheats, regular communication between DSS and CES officers was still a front line of defense against `bludger' incursion. One Melbourne based DSS officer decided that not enough `bludgers' were being caught and began stopping cheques going to entitled beneficiaries by writing on record cards that jobs had been found. Another was found to have acted independently by `writing insulting messages on correspondence going to unemployed people, ... which included: `Don't try it again bludger' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 6/11/1975).

CES officers were also zealously applying work test regulations to root out a plague that had descended. During an ABC television show on `**Allegations of unsympathetic treatment to women at Commonwealth Employment Service Offices in Pitt and Bathurst Streets, Sydney**,' one woman told of her experience of being made into a `dole bludger' because she took a trip to a coastal town in search of work:

> well, I went in there and I changed over to Leichardt Dole Office and when I got there I saw the back of my card, and on it said that this girl takes excursions around Australia, and while on these does not work. I asked what in the hell that was doing on there and he said well you must have told the person who interviewed you that. I said the only instance I can remember is after Christmas that I went to Eden to look for a job, because I had a hope of a job down there, and I transferred my dole down there and couldn't get the job, so I came back to Sydney. And that's the only instance of me going away to the country or round Australia. And the next thing, I find that on the back of my dole form, and I just said how do you ever expect me to get a job with that on the back of my dole form, do you think I want to be on $31.00 a week? (**P.M.**, 3/6/1975).

In spite of Labor's move to be seen as being on the side `real worker's' by rooting out the "Hippie" and "Surfie" element, public critique of state supported idleness continued and intensified. When asked by Malcolm Fraser, the then shadow Minister for Labour, what the government was doing about `bludgers', Cameron replied that although the work test had been too easy under the Hayden initiatives, almost two years after the introduction of those, `most of the examples of bludgers have been eliminated' (**The Canberra Times**, 2/19/1975). Cameron argued that he `and the Minister for Social Security had been tightening the work test for several months' (**The Age**, 2/17/1975).

By May 1975, both Hayden and Cameron were on the offensive, proving to the public again that they were serious about unemployment. In Queensland, there were 20 field officers of whom Joh Bejelke Peterson (Queensland's Premier) argued should be employed checking holiday resorts as he wondered `if these so-called workless are in fact fully employed riding surf boards or practicing transcendental meditation on the Cairns foreshore' (**Sun-Pictorial**, 5/22/1975).

Election campaign

> The average tax-payer was paying $200 a year or $4 a week supporting someone else in Idleness or in a largely non-productive activity, the Leader of the Country Party, Mr Anthony, said yesterday. (**The Canberra Times**, 3/10/1975)

From early 1975 onwards, opposition spokesmen were using the idea of "bludger" as way of attacking the Labor government. Newspaper editorials (e.g. The Herald, 2/17/1975, Daily Telegraph 5/19/1975) pointed to the centrality of the issue of work testing as a battleground on which an election might be fought: `unless we are to breed a nation of bludgers, the Labor Government is going to have to open its eyes' (The daily Telegraph, 5/19/1975). The Liberal's shadow Minister for Social Security argued that the labour party had produced a `race of bludgers' (The Age, 5/14/1975, The Sun-Pictorial, 5/14/1975)

The Labor Government was in a bind during the late 1975 Federal Election campaign and `dole bludgers' became a topic of debate. The Whitlam Government was blaming rising unemployment on the trade union movement, who were threatening anti-Labor action at the polling booths . Earlier that year the Federal Secretary of the Federated Furnishing Trades Society, K. F. Carr, `said he was certain many unionists would give the Labor government a sharp rebuff by voting informal in the event of a Federal Election' (The Australian, 2/25/1975). The Builders' Labourers Federation's Norm Gallagher warned: `He's (Whitlam) got a bit of a kink when it comes to working unions. The working class is sick of it. They will vote against him.'(The Australian, 2/25/1975)

Given Hayden's strong opposition to discipline of `dole bludgers' during his early battles to alter administrative practice, it seems doubtful that he would have switched positions so radically only two years later from an internally developed sense that he had been wrong. During 1975, Hayden was still a strong proponent of guaranteed minimum income ideals which would have effectively made work testing redundant. Hayden was also instrumental in establishment of Administrative and Social Security Appeals Tribunals which provided independent assessment of administrative interpretations.

Hayden's biographer, Denis Murphy (1980), portrayed Hayden as a long standing and committed democratic socialist espousing progressive ideals in areas such as censorship, women's rights, the peace movement and homosexual law reform (Murphy, 1980:35). In his 1968 booklet **The Implications of Democratic Socialism**, Hayden articulated ideals of personal freedom:

> Socialism as concerned with a system of moral and political values and a single, narrow path, from which only the willfully errant could wander is out of the question. The simple reason is that democratic socialism is concerned with a system of human values and is involved in the creation of a new and improved society for mankind ... In the absence of a precise definition of democratic socialism, and in order to avoid slipping into the pitfalls either of rigid dogmatism or of opportunism when trying to develop enough flexibility to achieve socialist ends, one must be inspired always by a socialist philosophy based on value of equality, fraternity and liberty. One must constantly analyse and criticise policies, actions and objectives to see wether they can be improved upon to promote these values (quoted in Murphy, 1980: 36-37)

Hayden's years in office as Minister for Social Security had taught him well the difficulty of imposing a reconfiguration of ideas about claimants' rights from above. With a touch of cynicism, Hayden reflected back on his time as Minister for Social Security during an address to a May 1975 ACOSS seminar on Guaranteed Minimum Income proposals. Idealism expressed in **The Implications of Democratic Socialism** had soured during his cabinet life:

> One of the most personally rewarding aspects of my time in Parliament has been that I have learnt things. At least, I hope I have learnt things. During the 14 years I have been in Parliament, and especially since becoming a Minister, many of my earlier views on society and social reform have changed ... Perhaps the significant thing that I have learnt as a Parliamentarian is that society is harder to reform than I used to think it was. It has not been an easy lesson for me to accept, but there are usually advantages attached to being realistic about things and I think it is especially important that social reformers like you and me try to be realistic. (Hayden, 1975:5) [Hayden's emphasis]

Murphy (1980) argued that Hayden's movement toward `realism' began in Mid 1974 with the second rejection in the Senate of the National Health Insurance Scheme for which he was a champion. Hayden became the `committed politician who wants to survive to fight another day. [He] must be able to suffer set-backs, remain in the party or in parliament and await the opportunity to redress the particular wrong experienced' (Murphy, 1980:86). Hayden's position on work test policy was not the only shift driven by his `realism'. One commentator from **The National Times** criticised Hayden's inability to stem a July 1974 cabinet decision to defer a large scale expansion of child care facilities:

> Mr Hayden, who might be expected as Social Security Minister to fight [for the child care programme} is at present intent on building his image as likely future treasurer and busy putting on the mantle of the man of economic responsibility. [Yvonne Preston, **The National Times**, 7/29/1974, quoted in Murphy, 1980:96)

Conclusion

Hayden's turn toward political `realism' and `economic responsibility' reflected the intensity of resistance to state attempts at reducing the effects of cultural discipline enacted through work testing. `Surfie and Hippie types' were feared by the conservative right. They represented a motivational crisis that went beyond union activism. `Surfie and Hippie types' threatened to take productive capacity accumulated during the long boom and redirect it toward work forms that would not reproduce labour as human capital. The traditional working class, represented in the union movement and in some factions of the Labor party, saw `Surfie and Hippie types' as a threat to their identities developed during times of unprecedented material wealth. Hayden's failed attempts to progressively introduce what may have effectively become a guaranteed minimum income, were indicative of a rationality crisis. The state could not possibly, progress further in its thinking than its `Labourist' constituency. Re-introduction of disciplinary technologies empowered through knowledge of labour markets were a logical outcome. The figure of the `dole bludger' became a disciplinary device in itself alongside the disciplinary technologies used to construct it. The `dole bludger' was an affront to the working class. When the Fraser Liberal government took power in December 1975, the scene was set for the `industrial community' disciplinary regime to unleash its full potential.

End Notes

1. Others including Keith Windschuttle (1980) have made this point. The position taken here takes an alternative view. However, it is recognized that both processes may have been concurrent.

2. These include 2/F/2 `Work Test'; 2/f/3 `Claimants Must Be Capable And Willing To Work'; 2/F/16 `Unemployables'; 2/F/23 `Postponement Of Benefit'; 3/A/7 `Long Term Beneficiaries'; and 3/A/11 `Efforts To Obtain Work'.

3. The latter note also appeared at the end of section 3/A/7 dealing with the idea of `efforts to obtain work'.

4. The original text was included in Hayden's letter to the Director-General on 15th January 1973 and handwritten into DSS's Manual Production Unit's copy of the April '73 amendment.

5. The reader was referred back to 2/F/16.

6. `Homeless' was beginning to emerge as a catch-all phrase.

7. See for example **Sun Pictorial** (1/5/1973), **The Age** (1/19/1973), **The West-Australian** (2/19/1973), **The Australian**, (1/19/1973).

8. See Appendix C for details of claimant constructions in the Document Hayden was given.

Chapter 8: UB and Discipline in the Post-Whitlam Era.

Introduction

Each year over the period 1976 to 1991, saw changes to UB regulations aimed at lessening the extent of autonomy claimants had over their labour market participation. The trajectory of discipline begun in 1974, intensified and broadened the functions of the Commonwealth Employment Service and the Department of Social Security as an interconnected disciplinary institution. A Liberal and two Labor governments maintained disciplinary potential of `dole bludgers' through work test procedure and surveillance activities. The Fraser years contained a more sustained and sure footed approach to worker discipline through UB administration than was achieved during the Whitlam years. However, so too did strategies of resistance. The discourse of `Surfie and Hippie types' appropriated by the Fraser government as warrants for intensification of discipline, were denounced as non-real by an actively critical welfare sector, a growing unemployed workers movement and an increasingly powerful left wing element in the public service. Intensified discipline of `dole bludgers' was a reasonable though contested approach to legitimation of reductions in public expenditure while maintaining the support of `workers.' `Dole bludger' discourse also had the effect of legitimately defining the difference between `good' and `bad' `workers'. However, in the wake of continued post-1974 economic crisis, the work-shy decreased in credibility. Resistance to `dole bludger' discourse successfully thrust the pathologically unemployed subject to centre stage as an primary administrative concern. `Dole bludgers' never completely disappeared from policy agendas. However by the time the Hawke Labor Government came to power, a new legitimate object of administration had appeared. Flagging job search activity amongst the long-term unemployed became due to development of chronic depression as well as time and space disorientation **coming from** unemployment. A burgeoning body of academic and `action' research impressed itself as holding a good deal more truth than interpretations of reports from the DSS and CES revealing large scale laziness in youth. Discussions of guaranteed minimum income (GMI) proposals were promoted as potential alternatives that, if widely accepted, might undermine the possibility of the `dole bludger'. However, the `pathological unemployed' subject was incorporated into further intensifications of work testing in the late 1980's when UB receipt became increasingly contingent on participation in labour market `programs'. The term pathology is used in the present context to refer to conditions produced by unemployment such as depression, loss of time sense and the discouraged worker syndrome.

The transformation of disciplinary regimes from `industrial' to `clinical citizenship' occurred as a result of incorporation of resistance into public policy agendas . This chapter addresses continuity, intensification and finally a shifting of disciplinary practice over the Fraser and Hawke years in office. The principal argument is that `dole bludgers' and strategies used to erect them, were logical strategies pursued by governments coping with legitimacy crises. `Dole bludgers' and `pathologically unemployed' subjects were constructed in disciplinary technologies designed to tie `workers' closer to demands of restructuring capital. Progressive manipulation of `suitable work' (described in chronological order below) remained a consistent device from the late Whitlam period. Intensification (though uneven and arguably ineffective in its early stages) of surveillance activity from the mid to late 1970's onward was a primary mechanism through which policy trajectories were enacted. Apart from the intent to reform individuals captured in the welfare safety net, the `dole bludger' metaphor operated to amplify to the employed population, what legitimate labour force participation meant.

Chapter 9 addresses forms of resistance mounted, primarily during the Fraser years, to `dole bludger' discourse. Disciplinary strategies and techniques on one hand, and resistance strategies on the other could well be approached together in separate chapters organised along lines of events contained within the Fraser years and then Hawke years. Separation of disciplinary strategies from resistances into separate chapters was done for two related reasons. Firstly, an attempt is made to draw attention to resilience of the underlying liberal trajectory of disciplinary practice spanning two potentially ideologically opposed governments and two qualitatively different disciplinary regimes. Secondly, an attempt is made to clearly demonstrate that a complex network of resistances were effectively short-circuited by the adaptability of liberal underpinnings of disciplinary practice.

Chronology of Post 1975 Work Test Changes

Post 1975 changes in work test procedure were too numerous to list in the detailed comparative fashion adopted during discussion of the Whitlam era. Not all work test measures that were announced as events marked substantial or even new extensions of the constitution of `dole bludging.' Many changes involved increasing precision of language used to describe a claimant behaviour warranting application of a penalty or the increasing of surveillance, but didn't alter the intent of the provision changed or replaced. Many work test `events' were announced merely for the purpose of emphasising existing provisions. It should be bourne in mind that work test instructions post 1974, were generally cumulative. That is, once an instruction was issued, it generally remained in place.[1] The events listed below represent moments of cumulatively increasing pressure circumscribing claimant autonomy.

1976

Postponement	**January**: Power to postpone benefits was reinstated to the Department of Social Security whose authorised officers could act independently as well as on advice of the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES).
Commuting	Claimants living in areas where it was considered normal for people to commute to larger centres (such as the Blue Mountain or Gosford districts surrounding Sydney) could have their benefits postponed or cancelled for refusing a job in the larger centre.
Personal Appearance	`Style of presentation' was reinstated as a reason for work test failure
Voluntary	**May**: Thriftlessness was punished with denial of unemployment benefit for six weeks if unemployment was considered `voluntary' and Special Benefit was denied to `people who voluntarily leave their employment and who subsequently find themselves with a shortage of money unless some extenuating circumstances exist'.
Suitable Work	The range of work considered `suitable' to be offered by the CES was extended considerably.[2]
School leavers	**August**: School leavers were denied benefit until the beginning of the following school year (prefaced in May, with a brief statement in the procedure manual).[3]

1977

Areas of Higher Employment

January: Benefit could be postponed or cancelled if claimants refused to move residence from what was considered a low employment area to a higher employment area for a job. Youth in particular were the focus of this provision.

Key Workers

February: Workers refusing to work next to scabbing `key' workers were to be denied unemployment benefits.

Suitable Work

April: Postponement or termination was to be enacted on a first `offence' of refusing to accept `suitable' work.[4]

1978

University Graduates

January: The three months normally available to university graduates before they were forced to be prepared to accept jobs of a lower status and or pay than they were qualified for was reduced to six weeks.

Travellers

New Zealanders, and returning Travellers coming to Australia to find work would have to spend their first six weeks on their own savings.[5]

1979

Casual & Part Time Work

July: Casual and part-time work was now to be considered suitable work and could be offered to anyone irrespective of qualifications after six weeks on UB had gone by.

Voluntary

Those considered to have been `voluntarily unemployed' were now to have their benefits postponed for three months instead of six weeks.

Lists of Employers

Lists of employers were to be regularly supplied to the CES who were responsible to check them.

1982

Moving Away

Onus of proof is placed on UB claimant to demonstrate that their job prospects are not decreased by a move in residence.

1986

Labour Market Programs

August: Commonwealth Employment Scheme Programs were included in the range of jobs considered suitable.

Benefit Forms

Benefit continuation forms would have to be handed in over the counter at a DSS office instead of being sent in by mail.

New Zealanders

New Zealanders are excluded from receiving UB for their first six months in Australia.

Britons

British citizens travelling in Australia on working holiday visas are prevented from receiving UB.

1987

Limited Employment Prospects

September: People moving to areas where their employment prospects are more limited than where they moved from were to be scrutinised closely to make sure that they were not work shy.

1988

School leavers

March: School leavers are prevented from claiming UB for 3 months instead of six weeks.

1989

Casual and Part-time Work

July: The six weeks period between UB claim and when casual part-time or work may be offered was eliminated. Part-time work and casual work could be offered as suitable from day one.

1991

New Start Contracts

July: Contracts were to be signed by both beneficiary and CES interviewing officer detailing agreement to undertake training courses and or specific job search activities.

Continuities and Discontinuities Between Fraser and Hawke Periods in Office

In 1985, a protester carried a placard in front of Parliament house:

> `Clayton's vote: The Fraser you get when you Don't vote for Fraser' (**The Canberra Times**, 7/3/1985).

Malcolm Fraser's years in office stretched from December 1975 to May, 1983 and represented emergence of a predictable right wing backlash to Whitlam's state expansionist reformism. Minimising public sector spending became the hallmark of Fraser's liberalism (Scotton, 1978:1). Fraser objected to the Australian Labor Party's statism because it denied `a great Australian tradition of self-reliant, independent people looking after their own affairs' (Malcolm Fraser quoted in Morgan, 1982:90). Taylor-Gooby argued that the anti-collectivism in this `New Right' position, prevalent in Britain at around the same time, was a manifestation of a contradiction implicit in welfare state expansion (Taylor Gooby, 1981: 28).

Citizenship rights extended as welfare rights involved a giving up of civic status as citizen and a taking on the status of client - a status almost absolutely stripped of connection to the wider society except by dependence. At least a re-invigoration of the market could give back a lost civic voice if that market could re-absorb clientele. The `new right' in social policy, was a reaction to manifest cultural contradictions between welfare and radical liberal citizenship. The market, not the state, would re-invigorate an individualism threatened by long developed ideas of right to welfare and Whitlam's attempt at state led social democracy.

A `new-right' political posture in the federal Labor government coming to power in 1983 has been noted by several commentators including Pusey (1991), Watts (1989, 1990) and Jennet and Stewart (1990). Its principal characteristic is revitalisation of private industry through controlled financial and wage deregulation. In the area of `social policy' Gibson (1990) reviewed Fraser/Hawke comparative commentary. She was unable to draw a conclusive picture as to which metaphors best described relationships between the two periods: `Retreat' (from Whitlam Labor platforms); `Continuity' (with Fraser trajectories) or `Equity and Efficiency' (characterising return to traditional Labor goals with new measures). However, the `retreat' metaphor was taken as the best possible candidate. The Hawke years ostensibly represented retreat from traditional Labor trajectories. Beilharz (1989:32) commented:

> Accusations fly: `The Death of Labor'; a new Labor establishment'; charges of indifference to poverty, of corporatism, of treachery to a reforming past. Plainly the events of recent years are a long way from the euphoria of the Whitlam years, let alone the more sombre epoch of the humble engine-driver, Ben Chifley. Times have changed. The discursive parameters of ordinary politics have shifted from `full employment' and state provision' to the magic of the `market' and the fetish of budget deficits. The language of Keynsianism is now taboo on both sides of politics; welfare economists look certain to become an extinct species, and those living on welfare even more so.

On the surface, Hawke's `Fraser government you get when you don't have a Fraser government' looked like a manifestation of the end of ideology in Australia. The major political parties talked the same, and pursued the same ideals. Pusey (1991) argued that a growth in `economic rationalism' in Canberra's bureaucracy was partly responsible for the building of Labor's ideological morgue. Pusey nostalgically referred back to the Whitlam era as a golden age when Labor was labour and Liberals were conservatives. The battle lines were clear and generals fought valiantly for their respective sides.[6] However, things began to change. The bureaucratic think tank responsible for constructing the nuts and bolts of political practice were mostly economists at the executive levels from the mid 1970s onwards.[7] They thought in economic terms, presented problems in economic terms and so, cemented an economic instrumental rationality into policy discourse, largely shoving out alternative forms of problem construction.

On the other hand, Beilharz (1989) argued that liberalism has been the keynote of Australian politics from the beginning. In other words, `neo' or `new' liberalism may not be so fundamentally new. Chifley's post-war welfare state was `residualist' in its emphasis on only providing what the market could not otherwise do. Even Whitlam's attempt at social democracy was liberal in tenor with its emphasis on equity rather than equality as a mature socialist trajectory. Whitlam would reform education, urban environments and welfare systems to become more effective platforms from which individuals would spring in pursuit of their interests to their utmost capacity as individuals. Businesses would have to perform to extend individualism downwards to those who did not work directly for them worked for them as well as those who did.

Whitlam's increases in the `social wage', which his reforms represented, met with a disinterested conservative labourism intent on wage increases. Ensuing wage `breakouts' were addressed unsuccessfully by both the Late Whitlam and then Fraser administrations. Hawke's 1984 Incomes and Prices Accord, represented a contractual basis for sustainable economic growth that would do much of what Whitlam had stumbled toward. However, the Hawke orientation to invigorating markets rather than subjecting them to state expansion and regulation has been interpreted as cheating on Labor's principles.

Rather, Beilhartz argued that not much has changed. The market has always been relied on to supply welfare in a broader sense and `labourist' ideals have really only involved a marshalling of collective power to redistribute the fruits of individualism. Liberalism has formed the discursive environment for working class political action at least since Justice Higgins' landmark decision for a basic minimum wage in the 1907 Harvester case. Australian labourist socialism has really been populist liberalism in overalls; Whitlam's social democracy was really `labourism' in a polar neck skivvy and sideburns; Hawke's conservatism was really `labourist' liberalism with a squash racket and a lap-top computer.

Carol Johnson (1989) argued along the same lines when comparing the Chifley, Whitlam and Hawke governments. All that had really changed was perception of economic environments providing the limits within which `labourist' ideals could be pursued. After presenting H. C. Coombs' and Senator Bolkus' critiques of Labors' conservative corporatist approach in the 1984 Accord agreement, Johnson (1989:95-96) convincingly rearticulated Beilharz's position in terms of economic strategy:

> The Hawke government has moved much further right than its predecessors, in areas such as wage-cuts, deregulation and public sector cuts. Nonetheless, that right-wing direction is also a legacy of the economic perspectives developed by its predecessors. The Curtin, Chifley and Whitlam Governments all emphasised the need for wage restraint, adequate levels of profitability and assistance to private enterprise with only minimal, if any, controls attached. They all urged the working class to make short-term sacrifices in order to facilitate the

> increased profitability which, it was argued, would lead to increased investment, economic growth and full employment. The Hawke government's move to the right, in response to a particularly serious recession, was facilitated by the increasing move away from Keynsian policies which had already begun during Bill Hayden's period as treasurer. Keynsian economics had offered an economic rationale for labor's traditional commitments to social welfare and expansion of the public sector. Improved welfare provisions and public sector expansion were justified in Keynsian terms on the grounds they would assist business by contributing to higher consumption levels. However Keynsian economic policies were unable to adequately counteract capitalism's cycles of boom and recession, or to adjust to deindustrialisation and other changes in the international economy. Once Keynsian economics was rejected, the conservative tendencies in Labor's consensus politics came to the fore. The real break with Labor tradition would have come if the government had responded to the crisis in a left-wing direction, for example by arguing for substantial controls over private investment.

Hawke's continued emphasis on enhancing labour market supply side flexibility provided the primary context within which social security policy was pursued. This marked sufficient continuity with the Fraser years to justify discussion of post 1975 disciplinary techniques which the above **Canberra Times** quote addresses.

It would be inaccurate and unfair to suggest that UB developments in the Hawke period were characterised completely by an anti-worker bias to free enterprise. Watts (1990) commented that the bi-partite Prices and Incomes Accord represented an **attempt** to achieve the dual purposes of increasing the social wage through: taxation reforms; re-introduction of national health insurance; reforms in the area of education, housing and child care; and increased levels of employment. Commentators such as Peetz (1985) and Mathews (1986) argued that improvements were already being seen in these areas by the mid 1980's and that the `social wage' had increased in real terms.

Certainly unemployment began to fall from the mid-eighties. However, Watts (1990) also argued that real wages have declined and eligibility criteria for welfare benefits, particularly unemployment benefits, have increased. In sum, Watts argued that redistribution in general has been away from wage earners and toward capital. This free market orientation has meant increased degrees of worker discipline through wage restraint and through continued symbolic construction of good/bad worker behaviours. Gibson's (1990:196) comment on late 1980's developments in UB eligibility procedure indicates continued importance of concentration on work willingness:

> Developments have largely been focused on ensuring that beneficiaries are indeed willing to accept and be available for employment. These include the

Work Intention Form, the activity test for young unemployed, the Work Effort Certificate and the introduction of unemployment Benefit Review Teams.

The Liberal defeat in May, 1983 was thought by many in the welfare sector to herald a new era. Discourse on rights and citizenship would once again take centre stage. These hopes were further fuelled with the 1984 appointment of Brian Howe as Minister for Social Security. Howe had been an active member of the critical welfare sector in Melbourne in the seventies and would surely foster as enlightened a period as was experienced under Hayden.

Work testing did not abate as expected. Howe's approach to Social Security was closely aligned with the Labor party's `hard headed' approach to social reform through economic reform. In 1985 Howe Commented in an interview for an article in **Australian Society** that `social policy in Australia needs a good dose of economics' (Browne, 1985:5). The legitimacy crisis encountered by both the Whitlam and Fraser Governments was potentially soluble with a Labor administration of free market policy. Workers would be given an increased real social wage and capital would be granted wage restraint and increased commodification of welfare beneficiaries.

Work Test ideas, and critiques aimed at them had plateaued between 1982 and 1986. Most of the Fraser work test intiatives remained intact throughout the 1980's. Selective review activity intensified throughout the 1980's but this was merely an extension of a process that had begun in the late 1970's. Watts (1990: 164) argued that sustained disciplinary practice in UB administrative policy was representative of the Hawke government's acceptance `of an apparently widespread belief that the social security system has been abused by dole cheats.' Certainly the case put forward in this thesis is that the disciplinary trajectory established in the early 1970's was sustained through into the Hawke period. Further that disciplinary techniques were kept intact as part of a necessary legitimacy maintenance exercise. However, key developments during the Hawke era marked a substantial shift in disciplinary practice.

In 1986, The Social Security Review (SSR) began its work. The SSR was a DSS commissioned analysis of the logic and practice of Social Security entitlements. Although the SSR was sponsored by the Department of Social Security, it was directed by academics, politicians and prominent welfare sector executives. Through these analysts, the figure of the pathologically unemployed subject became institutionalised early in the SSR's work and flowed through to administrative practice as early as

August 1986. Then, the work test was coupled with an `activity test' which aimed at achieving higher degrees of linkage of UB with labour market programs. Long-term UB recipients were to accept placement in a training scheme or a short term employment scheme as `suitable work'. In 1988, UB for 16 to 18 year olds was renamed `Job Search Allowance' and UB for 55-65 year olds was renamed `New Start Allowance', both demanding higher degrees of connection to labour force programs.[8] In 1991, The Active Employment Strategy was launched and UB ceased to exist. In its place, were Job Search Allowance (JSA) for all beneficiaries receiving benefit for less than 12 months and New Start for beneficiaries receiving benefit for 12 months or more. Disciplinary techniques shifted from simple ostracism of `dole bludgers' to a far more complex and interventionist relationship with individuals. The `pathologically unemployed' would have their conditions dealt with by professional labour market clinicians.

The post-1986 work test initiatives stemmed from ideas and recommendations developed in the 1988 SSR Issues Paper `**Income Support for the Unemployed in Australia, Toward a More Active System**'. The Active Employment Strategy (AES), commenced in July 1991 and represented full institutionalisation of the pathologically unemployed subject. `Contracts' setting out activities to be pursued by beneficiaries were to be signed by both beneficiary and interviewing CES officer (now given full responsibility for determination of activity test failure).

The Social Security Review

The Social Security Review (SSR), announced in 1985, was to undertake the most comprehensive review of social security arrangements since the Second World War. The SSR issues paper No. 4. `**Income Support for the Unemployed in Australia: Towards a More Active System**' was published in 1988. As early as 1986, Brian Howe pre-empted its approach to address `dole pathology'. A desire would be instilled in young UB beneficiaries to embrace demand-led labour market opportunities as opposed to forcing an accedence to them:

> Mr Howe and his department are looking at ways of preventing young people who feel they have little prospect of finding a job from quickly joining the chronically unemployed. "Once you allow these people to stay on unemployment benefits for a year, you have a serious problem on your hands in

> terms of getting them into the workforce at all," Mr Howe said. (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 12/15/1986)

> A few years ago it would probably have been labelled dole bashing. Times change. ... Howe says the government is about converting the unemployment benefit from a "safety net" to a "springboard", bouncing people back into the work force. It is trying to face up to one of the consequences of prolonged high unemployment and the availability of the dole at a reasonable level. That consequence is the danger of breeding a generation of young people who settle too readily for a jobless existence for their foreseeable future ... Howe spelled out some of the new thinking in speech to a welfare conference this week: "The appropriateness of the current system of unemployment assistance in enhancing opportunities is now under serious question. The Curtin system of unemployment benefits has now lasted more than 43 years and its basic structure largely unchanged. However there are now sound reasons for believing that this system is less appropriate to the 1980's given the rapid economic changes of the last decade or so. There are strong arguments that income support programs for the unemployed be given a greater labour market orientation". (**The Age**, 4/11/1987)

The perennial problem of youth unemployment was to be addressed by stimulating labour market oriented activity in unemployed youth in order to prevent them from developing `dole pathology'. The 330 page issues paper released in January 1988, employed an impressive review of secondary labour market data as well as analyses of UB beneficiaries produced by the Department of Social Security to support its position. Its general thrust was to conceive of unemployment as a segmented phenomenon and in need of addressing with appropriately `targeted' programs. Different groups of people defined principally in terms of age, gender, and education attributes faced different kinds of difficulty in achieving labour market entry. Rather than attempt a task of re-organising fundamental logics of employment practices, dependence on unemployment benefit could be utilised much more effectively by requiring UB recipients to undertake `training'. The Welfare sector applauded the paper's general recognition that benefit levels were to be increased but were divided on the issue of increased scope of work testing. The Brotherhood of St Lawrence's Alison McLelland had worked closely with Bettina Cass on the SSR and was generally supportive of the package as a whole. However, NSWCOSS's Adam Farrar's comparison of the issues paper to the 1945 **White Paper on Full Employment** indicated re-establishment of contradictions (articulated by the political right as `trade-off between costs and benefits') between economic planning and civil rights in a new discourse centring on work force flexibility. If nothing else, the AES proposed by the issues paper represented a legitimacy gain for the state:

> What goals will be served by an `active' system? There are at least two answers here. Each involves a trade-off of costs and benefits for different groups. The first goal is to shore up the legitimacy of the unemployment benefit system. The review corageously raises the stakes in this debate. For the first time, it proposes a system of adequate income support, arguing that it is neither efficient nor just to condemn the unemployed to poverty. But to win this, the old and much criticised guarantee of an unemployed person's bona fides - the work test - has been expanded into a broader `activity test'. The second goal is a flexible work force - a goal which is only marginally met by the expanded activities expected of the unemployed. It is not clear that such flexibility is much benefit to the unemployed as a whole given the lack of jobs. It is clear that general acceptance of retraining will greatly benefit an economy which accepts that industry restructuring will be the order of the day for the foreseeable future. (Farrar, 1988: 40)

The disciplinary effect of work testing would partly be realised through its relation to employed workers. `Flexibility' and responsibility for it are seen as lying in the disciplinary domain of the state as cultural mediator. An autonomous economy provides structured work environments and the state provides the definition of `worker' to fit those environments. Gunn (1989) argued that the Review was an extension, rather than a revision of `labourist' ideals. Brian Howe called for a reconceptualization of welfare to fit with economic realities of a `post-Fordist' world wherein flexibility of labour was seen as paramount to the successful gaining of a sustainable position on the world economic scene. Gunn argued that what he got was a predictable `labourist' denial of the possibility of a legitimate decommodified social space. The Social Security review is not:

> a departure from labourism to construct such moves in the language of `reconceptualizing' the social security system. Linking income support to the labour market is consistent with a strategy of maintaining wage security and welfare residualism. It also keeps faith with a belief in the validity of assigning primacy to full employment as the ultimate goal, where, to quote Chifly, its achievement would `create conditions in which welfare palliatives will become less and less necessary' (Gunn, 1989:47)

The Announcement of the Review followed The presentation of P. E. Kirby's **Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs** (The Kirby Report) in January, 1985. Kirby's report emphasised a social phenomenon recognised by Hawke during his 1979 Boyer Lecture. That is, `two separate `classes' appear to have become entrenched in the labour market' (Kirby, et, al., 1985:92). Those without saleable skills, youth, women, aboriginals, displaced workers, in down-sizing industries (particularly in manufacturing industries such as motor vehicles and white goods (Rich, 1987)) vs those with high degrees of education and concomitantly higher degrees of employability.

Traditional methods of work testing had proven unwieldy to operate. They were not only beset by long standing inter-departmental contradictions between the CES and the DSS, but were also reliant on the assumption that a worker had a right to be supported until `suitable' work was available. Labor's position that some change in the psyche of youth should be produced, represented a break from Hayden's early thinking about relationships between concepts of citizenship and labour market participation.

AES represented an apparent erosion of the rationalist socialist ideal of a `right' to demand increasing shares of `surplus labour' (profit) through the collective bargaining process. Workers no longer had a `right' to define their own preferred methods of working, but were to have those methods `given' to them by the state vis-a-vis its conception of appropriate labour force behaviour. Although unionists had been among leaders of revolts against Hayden's reforms in the early 1970's, the logic of collective action, should have denied veracity of the AES strategy as an attack on working class conceptions of an individual's autonomy to decide their own `calling'. AES would, in theory, take much of that autonomy away. Strengthening propensity for unemployed people to take low paid jobs would surely represent an erosion of long won pay and security of tenure working conditions.

A corporatist approach was pursued with restructuring of welfare as well as with industry. Howe argued that ACOSS, the ACTU as well as employer organisations were involved in hammering out the shape of proposed reforms (**The Australian**, 12/29/1987). On the 19th of January, Howe announced the release of Cass's Issues paper (**News Release**, Howe, 1/19/1988). The welfare community welcomed the report and the policy direction, but cautioned that labour markets needed to be in a condition able to absorb people coming out of training programmes or into the workforce on the new `spring-board'.

Pre-empting Howe's announcement, VCOSS's Robert Hudson commented that `Howe is taking an enormous risk. He is re-orienting social security programs but he is not the minister responsible for jobs' (**Times on Sunday**, 1/17/1988). ACOSS's Julian Disney was concerned about extensions of the testing to include training programs, now to be called an activity test: `While we generally welcome the report ... it (extension of the activity test) will be useless unless the number and variety of programs available to the unemployed, and in particular child care facilities are up-graded' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 1/20/1988). The Liberal's Shadow Minister for Employment Training and Youth Affairs supported the policy direction with a typical individualist human capital approach: `we will never overcome the problem of long-term unemployment if we ignore the links between low skill levels and lack of success in securing permanent employment'(**Press Release**, Peter Shack, 1/20/1988). Shack's statement was echoed by The confederation of Australian Industry when it praised the issues paper on providing increased incentives to find work (**The Herald**, 3/31/1988).

Resilience of work testing

Compared to the late 1970s and early 1980's, resistance to CES/DSS work test techniques was limited to sporadic protests from the Public Service Union (PSU) (previously Administrative and Clerical Officers' Association (ACOA)), Unemployed Workers Unions and affiliated organisations such as Coalition Against Poverty and Unemployment (CAPU), and the major welfare organisations such as Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS), Victorian Council of Social Services (VCOSS) and the Brotherhood of St Lawrence (BSL). Protest mainly centred on the issue of increased surveillance from intensive review teams, inefficient work test techniques, and the degrading effects of work testing on beneficiaries who were not really `dole bludgers'. The resistance strategies presented an alternative vision of the unemployed subject. Increased disciplinary techniques in the late 1980's were mainly designed to recover the `pathologically unemployed' established in resistance discourse, from work motivation syndromes developed because of long term unemployment.

No alternative logic could be found to address work test administration per se. Ideas of GMI current in the late 1970's had by the mid 1980's then been thrown out of credibility. Occasionally Barry Jone's (1982) popularised ideas of facilitating a post-industrial utopia by stimulating alternative work forms such as community work and even self-sufficient communes were current for short periods. However, these were quickly stifled. Labour market programs primarily oriented at retaining work commitment in the figure of the `pathologically unemployed' were pursued as logical alternatives.

The pathologically unemployed had their symptoms treated with `virtual employment'. To do otherwise would mean reconfiguring terms of relations in civil society that depended on commodification implied in the **contract** form. For example, one alternative course of action might be to fund communal living arrangements on the north coast. There, civil relations would not be dependent on the commodity form as exchange values would not be necessarily translated into money form. The category of work test failure had always been a confirmation of contractual civil relations. Involvement of the state in work testing remained a means of buttressing those relations by protecting the sanctity of `worker' from incursion by `non-worker' as a legitimate social form.

Throughout the 1970's and early 1980's the unemployed subject as `dole bludger' affirmed a state reacting to threats to civil society from dole bludgers **as outsiders**. The shift in emphasis on the `pathological' subject in the late 1980's affirmed the state reacting to threats **from within** civil society. The `real worker' was considered by the Labor Party as being in danger of defeating its own interests unless clinical intervention was undertaken. The state was saving society from itself. The clinical metaphor, developed as a critique of state surveillance and labour force discipline became a legitimating device for similar techniques pursued by Labor's `new right' in the late 1980's. The Australian state responded to threats to its disciplinary regime by incorporating critical arguments.

Intensification of discipline through work testing throughout the 1970's and 1980's should be seen in terms of the immutability of basic social categories to modern state relations with civil society. The welfare state was characterised in chapter two as vanguard of modernity. Terms of abstract citizenship constituted through rational relations of contract were pursued through state administration of benefits and pensions based on particular categories of relations to labour markets. An abstract working class was reflected back on itself through participation in its own support vis a vis state administration. `Dole bludgers' `cheating on their mates' were made possible through a benign state merely performing a function expected of it by its working class constituents. Key changes to work test administration, expanded notions of ideal typical working class identity.

The welfare state's inability to obtain perfect knowledge through work testing of claimants' motivations, has been said to have placed its position as vanguard of working class interests in jeopardy. Windshcuttle (1980: 177-178) argued that `dole bludgers' were an ideological (in the false ideological sense) device employed in reaction to threats of unmasking the states' inability to cope with fiscal crisis. Winsdschuttle's task, as was that of critical welfare and UWU communities, was to lift this veil by explaining that the unemployed were not `dole bludgers', that they were in fact people in real need.

Overloaded techniques of Surveillance and a new Panopticon

A central element of the continuity between Fraser and Hawke periods was progressive intensification of claimant surveillance. It is argued here that administrative trajectories toward accumulation of higher degrees of rational knowledge of UB recipients were able to work their way through technical difficulties and capricious ministers to progressively higher levels of sophistication. Surveillance intensification announced at various times throughout the 1980's does not seem to have been the brain child of a particular minister, but rather the result of a long process of experimentation with administrative process. In other words, the administrative state continued on its own course, arguably (though not strongly so) quite autonomously from the political will of cabinets.

Characteristics of dole bludgers as an ensemble of formal characteristics were relatively easy to manipulate in DSS and CES procedure manuals developed in central offices. However, as joblessness increased and demand for UB grew, so too did difficulty in applying work test techniques. Comprehensive and detailed knowledge of a claimant's motivations were relatively simple to collect and analyse prior to the 1970's. By the time the Fraser government came into power, the scale of joblessness had already crowded out the possibility of accurate knowledge of the number of `dole bludgers'. Administrative resources couldn't cope with new demands to scrutinise claimants. One result, discussed in full in the following chapter, was to antagonise public service workers to the point where they began to critically examine their own roles and question the nature of the `public' they were working for. Another result was to force a search for means which would provide more efficient information. `Intensive Review Teams' were established to find dole bludgers through concentration on particular categories of individuals, and to act as a deterrent to others.

These more sophisticated methods operated on a similar principle to Bentham's panopticon discussed in chapter 2. To recap, the panopticon was an architectural structure applicable to prisons, schools and mental institutions that facilitated high levels of surveillance at low cost. An overseer could see everything in an inmate's cell which was lit from behind. Because the overseer could not be physically seen from an inmate's cell, inmates had no idea whether or not they were being watched. The disciplinary effect of this mechanism was to constantly obtain desired behaviour from an inmate because there were no spaces within which the inmate could hide and not time when the inmate could be certain that they were not being observed.

Review team activities, increases in personnel and broad parameters of their methods were widely publicised in the press by the Minister for Social Security. Everyone knew that the review teams were out there somewhere, but a veil of official secrecy was kept over both the precise formula they used to uncover the work shy, and their whereabouts prior to arrival in a particular region. The teams sat in a central tower, and with their tools of illumination could **potentially see all claimants.**

Increased sophistication and intensity of Surveillance techniques parallelled developments in official thinking on the constitution of the soul of the work-shy. The pathologically unemployed subject had been erected in critical discourse in opposition to the figure of the `dole bludger' since the early 1970's. However, that discourse was only capable of increasing the salience of unemployment pathology, not displacing the figure of the `dole bludger' altogether. Further, unemployment pathology brought about an administrative response to which there could be little critique of a fundamental nature. Although Windschutle's `dole bludger' as veil to real political objectives' thesis was at least capable of drawing critical attention to work test practice, developments in the late 1980's were resistant to these critiques because they were based in them. The Active Employment Strategy progressively introduced since late 1986, sought buttressing of work motivation by making UB (or its equivalent forms) contingent on taking positions in training courses designed specifically to maintain work motivation.

Surveillance techniques developed during the 1970's and early eighties designed to locate potential `dole bludgers' were expanded during the Hawke era. Department of Social Security Field Officers attached to State or Regional Headquarters had been operating since early days of the Department of Social Services. Their task had always been to examine the `bona fides' of benefit and pension recipients. However, during the seventies, their staff were expanded and their activities became increasingly systematic, scientific and open to public comment in the press.

`Targeting' of high risk categories of claimants became the purview of Mobile Review Teams. Intensification of personal surveillance began at least as early as February 1978. Investigation Officers of the DSS were to concentrate all their efforts on unemployment benefit recipients on the 13th of February in order to reduce unemployment figures by the end of the month. 250 Investigating Officers were to visit homes of unemployment benefit recipients for an interview and leave notes to contact the office in mail boxes of unattended residences. (**Sun Pictorial**, 2/13/1978). An editorial in **The Australian** (2/15/1978) commented:

> The Department has a legal and moral responsibility to check for dole cheats. Genuine recipients of unemployment benefits have nothing to fear from properly conducted inquiries. For too long they have bulked large in the public mind with dole bludgers. A thorough weeding-out of the cheats will remove stigma against those of the unemployed who merit public support. Those found to be cheating the system deserve to be found out. The disclosure may even be salutary to them. Their ingenuity will hopefully be put to better ends in seeking work.

A field worker from Sydney's Outer Western Region Council for Social Development argued that fear of laying themselves open to bureaucratic scrutiny deterred unemployed youth, particularly homeless youth, from claiming benefits: `they are afraid to confront the bureaucracy, they don't know how to handle it because they are shy and diffident. They get beaten by the system' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 2/14/1978).

ACOSS's Ian Yates appeared in radio and television interviews on the 15th of February arguing that field officer investigation was more likely to be motivated by DSS concern for fraud rather than a Liberal Party trying to reduce unemployment figures. Not being at home and not responding to call back notices were not necessarily indicators of fraud. Continued absences were more likely to be indicators of incomprehension of responsibilities, intense social isolation, and even job search strategies. Those determined to pursue their benefit once lost through field officer investigation, must submit themselves to an even more intense bureaucratic gaze through re-application and appeal processes (**This Day Tonight**, 2/15/1978, **P .M.** 2/15/1978). Yates commented:

> According to quite a few reports we've had in, people are out looking for work. They may live in boarding houses, they may live in situations, for example a migrant family, where no one really wants to talk to this investigator who has turned up to the door. Sometimes people will go away from home for a week to try and look for work in an area where a relative lives. Very genuine cases where people are put in a bind that if they are not waiting at home they could be in trouble. Migrant groups and young people in particular just cant cope with this bureaucratic system. [They] are very genuine, but their world is a different world to the trained, hard world of the investigators. These people are dropping out of the system, and are becoming more and more alienated. They are having to live off their wits, or petty crime, or off friends, and becoming more and more alienated and that's a very real social problem. I think it is possible to identify the people who are at risk and those people have got to be given particular attention from the moment they walk in and there has to be an assumption that they are not guilty rather than an assumption which is being built up in the media creating the image of a dole bludger, that people are guilty in this case until they can prove themselves innocent. (**P. M.**, 2/15/1978)

The Brotherhood of St Lawrence's Graeme Brewer wrote to **The Financial Review** (2/16/1978) and asked: `How many more people will be subjected to extreme poverty, harassment and meagre rights by the increase in field officer activity?' In response, Senator Guilfoyle, The Minister for Social Security argued that `If our Social Security system is to have the confidence and support of the Australian Community, the public must be convinced that benefits are being channelled into areas of real need' (**The Age**, 2/16/1978).

At issue were costs and benefits of expanding DSS knowledge of the reality they were representing in more common office procedures and documents. Benefits were conceived by Guilfoyle as lying in the area of legitimation of UB expenditure as a whole, and costs were conceived by Brewer as lying in the effects of increased surveillance. ACOSS's Philipa Smith reiterated Yate's concern about intensification of already individualising effects of unemployment:

> The Blitz reinforces again the image of "dole Bludger" - an image which makes many unemployed feel ashamed, embarrassed, and guilty when receiving benefits. Many, even now, do not apply for benefits until they have used up all their savings and are desperate even though they are eligible for benefits. These latest measures will place yet another barrier between the unemployed and the rest of the population ... The unemployed may often be away from home. They may visit friends or other relatives. Not to do so would only increase their sense of isolation and loss of "purpose". (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 2/15/1978)

Field Investigator activity began to become a part of DSS's `scientific' knowledge. Apart from merely asserting existing rules of eligibility, field investigators were utilised to construct deeper profiles of unemployment benefit claimants, through the knowledge of communities within which beneficiaries lived. Routine institutional knowledge constructed through statistical returns recorded usual occupation, length of time on benefit, age, and gender of beneficiaries. This was supplemented by information recorded on questionnaires filled in by field officers receiving information from neighbours, beneficiaries and other associates of unemployed people. In June 1979, The Law Reform Commission was approached by ACOSS to investigate whether or not an invasion of privacy was being committed: `the twelve page questionnaires require field officers to assess the unemployment beneficiary's motivation for finding work ... [The questionnaires] include neighbour's comments about people on the dole and questions about the recipients' efforts to find work' (**The Age**, 6/28/1979). Concerns about civil liberties were also raised by the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. Its President, Dr Alan Hughes, argued that the unemployed were being subjected to bullying and invasion of privacy by Social Security field officers:

> For many jobless, the rule of law no longer applies. Bureaucrats have a licence to invade their private lives. [Field officers are] caricatures of private eyes in old fashioned divorce cases. In practice, Department of Social Security field officers have more rights than police in gaining entry to people's homes if they're unemployed. (**The Canberra Times**, 9/29/1980)

Guerilla action was advocated by one group. A newsletter reaching a readership of around 3,000 and published by a group calling itself `The Work for Today Coalition' advocated that benefit recipients receiving visits from field investigators should retaliate. The newsletter advocated that Field Officer's names and vehicle licence numbers should be recorded and sent to the newsletter so that those vehicles could be sabotaged. The Newsletter argued:

> Given the nature of their [the Field Officers'] job, one could hardly be surprised if unemployed people started to retaliate against these snoops. After all, it would certainly make their spying difficult if on each morning they set out for a hard day's work, they found that their cars had been disabled. What we are suggesting is that if you are unemployed and you have to suffer the indignity of someone snooping around your home, you get their name, take a record of their number plate and let us know. In this way we can publicise who the snoops are and thereby make their avoidance a bit easier. (**The Age** 7/9/1979)

The Victorian President of the Australian Public Service Association reacted strongly to what he saw as an unwarranted attack on field officers themselves. He argued that attacks on field officers were examples of government workers being subjected to contradictory demands on their work process:

> If the government of the day wants to make it intolerable for people on pensions, Australian Public Service Association members are still bound to carry out their directions. I feel sure people working in these offices (CES and Social Security) do a remarkable job - considering the government policy on one hand of screwing staff numbers and on the other, asking them to do more work than a person is capable of doing in a day to make up for staff losses. It is the government of the day that needs to be criticised for its inability to come to terms with the problems in Australia and for blaming their problems on their staff. (**The Age**, 7/30/1979)

Intense Field Investigator activity continued through the 1980's, in spite of Labor's opposition to field officer activity, in the 1970's. Harry Van Moorst argued, in an interview with **The Age** in June 1985, that unemployed youth still had a `siege mentality.' Moorst had conducted a study of unemployed youth for the Department of Youth Sport and Recreation and constructed his sample by knocking on doors asking if anyone living their was unemployed:

> Mr Van Moorst said that in a significant number of cases his interviewers had knocked on a door and been told the unemployed person was home. But when they went to get the person, they returned saying they had made a mistake and that no unemployed people lived there. He said most interviewers noticed a reluctance or even fear of admitting to being without a job. "In view of the way many feel they have been treated by employers, government bureaucracies and whole sections of this society, this may not be a totally surprising phenomenon, but it is highly disturbing. (The Age, 6/25/1985)

In August 1986, Labor's Minister for Social Security, Brian Howe announced a further intensification of unemployment benefit review. 45 Investigators divided into Mobile Review Teams began work in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria and Western Australia. Areas in which it was suspected that high numbers of unemployment beneficiaries were in need of `verification of efforts to obtain work' were selected for visits by review teams (Howe, **Press release** 8/27/1986). By February the following year, Howe Announced that the review teams had proved so effective in reducing beneficiaries that teams would be trebled to 15 in number (Howe, **Press release**, 26/15/1987). By April 1988, there were 19 teams. Intensive Work Effort Review Teams utilised a `risk analysis technique':

> Six field officers in each team spend six to eight weeks in an area, reviewing efforts by the unemployed to find work. Once the teams have picked a case, it is up to the unemployed person to keep appointments with potential employers. A form has to be endorsed by employers to prove that the unemployed person attended job interviews. (**The Herald**, 4/4/1988)

According to a late 1986 Head Office circular, Mobile Review Teams were to concentrate specifically on `high risk' categories of claimants residing in:

> `areas where, despite the availability of employment vacancies, payments to unemployment beneficiaries remain at a significant level. The objective of the Review Team is to interview selected unemployment beneficiaries placing particular emphasis on ensuring that they are taking reasonable steps to obtain suitable full-time work. The basic premise that the Review Team will be working under is that for many of the clients listed, suitable work is available in that area and it is against that criterion that their efforts to obtain work will be assessed. (ADOSS, 11/1986)

General direction for selection of particular clients for review included several questions to be asked of `work efforts' fields located on regular benefit return forms received from beneficiaries. Form SU19B was to be scrutinised with specific questions in mind:

> * are specific efforts listed or merely "CES and newspapers"?
> * are vacancies pursued inappropriate (e.g. tradesman vacancies when the client is unskilled)?
> * are work efforts confined to a particular field (eg only computer occupations)?
> * are the same employers listed consistently? (Australia, Department of Social Security, `U.S.B. Reviews and Surveys.' (ADOSS, 11/1986)

Clients selected by these criteria as well as being young, single and unemployed for long periods of time, were to be interviewed, informed of their job search responsibilities, and administratively `tracked' by a computer coding appearing on subsequent correspondence.

Mobile Review Teams didn't really do much that was different from earlier or even other contemporary forms of the review process. Periods of intense application of long-standing provisions for regular three monthly reviews were characteristics of periodical `crack-downs' demanded by various cabinets from Bill Hayden's latter days onwards. However, most of these periods of intense review activity only lasted for a few months or even a few weeks, at which point DSS staff resources began to buckle under the strain. Selective review teams were not a new device constructed under a Labor government pursuing the interests of real workers. Rather, these teams had developed as a response to demands from the Fraser government to extend the scope of disciplinary knowledge constructed through work test practice. The Hawke government merely picked up on processes that had been initiated during its time in opposition.

The 1978 intensification of Field Officer review was more likely to have been an event staged by the Department of Social Security to satisfy cabinet that they were diligently looking for social security fraud, than any propensity for the Department itself to increase its surveillance of unemployment beneficiaries. The March 1976 cabinet decision to force all UB recipients to appear in person for lodgement of their continuation of benefit forms was seen within the DSS as causing congestion and being somewhat useless without any sort of accompanying interview and was soon abandoned.

The June 1977 Norgard Inquiry into the operation of the CES had recommended that DSS take a more active role in receiving applications for unemployment benefit and administering continuation of unemployment benefit (Norgard, 1977: 32-33). The fact that someone appeared at a counter only demonstrated that they had appeared at a counter, not that they were without a job or willing to work. Senior officers of the DSS had discussed ways to avoid the futility of the personal appearance regulations as early as September 1977 (ADOSS, 9/7/1977). It was suggested that ways of meeting cabinet's general concern to be seen to be checking for `dole bludgers' could be addressed in pilot studies to be conducted at various regional offices. `Pre-grant interviews' would be conducted which could reduce necessity for continued appearance on CES premises and satisfy claims to DSS knowledge about the person's propensity to be motivated for work.

State Directors of Social Security were instructed to conduct pilot studies of effectiveness of interviewing unemployment benefit claimant's after four weeks of benefit receipt. Directors were asked to report on beneficiaries who: 1. had income disclosed at the interview and not disclosed on forms, 2. did not satisfy the interviewer that they were making reasonable efforts on their own behalf to obtain work, 3. were referred to field officer for home visits, 4. were referred to a social worker for assistance, 5. were counselled on habits, dress, general appearance 6. were refused benefit or terminated.

On the 6th of August, 1978 The Director-General of Social Security sent a telex to state Directors:

> The initial (pre-grant) interviews of unemployment benefit claimants have proved unexpectedly successful in all states in reducing the number of cases proceeding... As the Public Service Board has now provided us with additional staff and the evidence is that this particular reform will provide maximum advantages with little net call on resources, it has been decided that the highest priority will now be given to introducing 100% interviews in all offices. (ADOSS, 8/6/1978)

Enthusiasm developed through this success, stimulated a further series of pilot studies to test effectiveness of interviewing new claimants after four weeks, as well as interviewing on a four week cyclical basis. Bondi and Dee Why (both beachside suburbs in Sydney) were selected by the New South Wales region for the pilot studies. Both studies found that time and effort required to re-interview clients did not produce sufficient savings to warrant making the exercise a national going concern. Findings discussed in reports from both studies indicated futility of work testing in general and a high degree of resistance, bordering on hostility, from front line DSS workers. An attachment to an early April report on the Dee Why project commented:

> Some difficulty was encountered in determining if beneficiaries were making reasonable efforts to find work on their own behalf. Clearly assessments of this factor relies heavily on the client's stated efforts and presentation. The interviewers are of the opinion that a true assessment is almost impossible under these circumstances. It is considered that during the survey some genuine work-seekers appeared as not genuine due to nervousness or other problems of presentation, and that some non-genuine clients glibly presented favourable fabrications. This view is of course quite subjective, but short of a very time consuming verification of stated job approaches and interviews, there seems to be no way of getting an objective assessment in this area. Some beneficiaries left few doubts that they were making little or no effort at all to become employed. In these cases the assessment often stemmed from the client being candid enough to state that they did not seek work, and in 11 cases (1,6% of the total number interviewed) the beneficiary was warned of his obligations in this respect. The policy of referring doubtful cases to the CES for a work test was not adopted as, in the unlikely event of suitable position being vacant, it would be entirely negative to request the CES to refer persons from the lowest end of the employability spectrum when there would be many who were keen to get the job. Such action would be detrimental to CES/employer relations and hence CES/DSS relations. (ADOSS, 2/9/1979)

A November 1979 report on early Bondi results commented:

> It was apparent that the interviewing staff have become increasingly apathetic as the exercise progressed and results diminish. It has been found necessary to rotate staff in order to retain motivation and to prevent interviewing officers "going up the wall" as they put it. A number of beneficiaries themselves resent being asked to attend three or four times for the same type of interview and to answer the same questions. I was told that the interviewing staff is known as "The Gestapo" in one of the local hotels. Whether in light vein or not, this attitude could lead to an uncooperative attitude on behalf of the beneficiaries. (ADOSS, 12/14/1978)

The effect of the intensification of interviewing as a deterrent to application for continuation of benefit (lodgement of form SU19B) by potentially work-shy individuals was addressed through comparison of `Failed To Return or Lodge' (FTR/L) rates. If the reviews acted as a deterrent to people who thought they might be `found out', then more people would fail to return or lodge their application for continuation of unemployment benefit forms. A February, 1979 report discussing FTL comparisons in Dee Why found a slight decrease in the rate when compared with a pre-survey comparative sample, `thus there is no conclusive evidence that this type of review has any deterrent effect' (ADOSS, 2/28/1979). Given the volume of cases reviewed it is not surprising that average interview length was reported at the Bondi office to have been only 4.1 minutes (ADOSS, 8/10/1979).

A `Review Team Philosophy' was promoted as an alternative approach in a March 1979 report:

> The Review Team approach involves an integrated review plan based on unannounced in-home interviews. The plan also incorporates office interviews and in certain instances, postal questionnaire reviews. Cases for review are selected according to a rating system which is determined for each beneficiary. The rating factor is calculated at grant and incorporates an assessor rating (high, medium or low) as well as an automatic rating which is compiled from pre-selected fields of the client's benefit record. After each review the assessor rating is re-examined and a new review rating is re-examined (ADOSS, 3/26/1979)

The second Bondi study run during 1979 found that only 27 of 1,557 interviewed were given warnings about their work efforts (ADOSS, 8/10/1979). The 4-weekly interviews were not implemented throughout Australia, however, on the 6th of September, 1979, an instruction required interviews to be conducted every three months. DSS Reactions, similar to Bondi and Dee Why's experiences with four monthly interviews, were collected from offices throughout 1980. On the 23rd of January, 1981 a circular instruction was issued from central office stating that six monthly reviews should be done instead of three monthly reviews. Further, `a programme whereby six monthly reviews are supplemented by selective reviews of high risk categories is being developed' (ADOSS, 1/23/1981). This `programme' became part and parcel of attempts to know, isolate and reform the pathological subject of the late 1980's.

Conclusion

The category of `dole bludger' was a simultaneous product of market relations on one hand and the state as an abstract entity compelled to support those abstract market relations on the other. The `dole bludger' could not exist without either of these two conditions. Windschuttle's claim that `dole bludgers' are an ideological artifact may be seen in terms of the representation of `ideal' community imagined through them, rather than as a malevolent device produced through a public relations campaign. `The tax-payer', `the really needy' and `honest workers' are just as much abstractions brought to bear through the idea of `dole bludger' as real political intent is masked. By administering unemployment benefits, The state **as congealed or imagined community** brought abstracted civil relations of work to bear back on cultural relations between abstract citizens.

Right to receive an unemployment benefit was extended to workers. In order to participate in this right one must demonstrate worker identity that is given by understandings of legitimate labour force participation. The cultural significance of the right to receive benefit lies in relations brought to existence in the abstract community of the state. Workers were made to know each other through access to benefits that they provided for themselves. Unemployment benefits received their most potent form of disciplinary potential through the relations constituted by them. Work testing has been a legitimate enterprise precisely because the integrity of working class identity is at stake. The elusive figure of the `dole bludger' has been a fundamental and irredeemable feature of state supported unemployment benefits.

Post-war technologies enacting dole bludgers have been energised by this fundamental characteristic of state identity. Work testing was at once a legitimation of state identity vis-a-vis abstract civil relations and the technology utilised to achieve those relations. Throughout post-war period the identities of `dole bludgers' were constituted in work test practices. The working class was made knowable through the figure of the dole bludger. The immutability of the category `dole bludger' as working class antithesis can be seen most clearly by tracing the fate of Bill Hayden's 1973 reforms. Hayden had attempted to articulate working class identity as flexible enough to encompass non-traditional forms of expression in occupational choice and personal appearance. Overtly, Hayden's reforms were defeated by reactionary labourist and conservative ideals of working class articulation. Workers should dress appropriately, be prepared to be `realistic' about jobs they wanted and postponement was to be reinstated as a disciplinary device. Hayden's reforms were defeated precisely because of the idea that **too much** autonomy was handed to claimants to express their own identities as workers.

Salience of **necessarily** imperfect administrative knowledge was amplified by indignation at the propensity for `dole bludgers' as much as it was by critics of that indignation. Critics never escaped the notion that work testing was an indefensible activity to be done by the state. Added to the Welfare sectors' critique of institutional knowledge, were demonstrations from Unemployed Workers' Unions, anti-poverty organisations such as CAPU and the Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACOA) (which represented the majority of front line work test administrators) in the form of a work test `ban'. These critical personnel developed a discourse of rights and citizenship during Whitlam's social democratic era and carried it through as a defence against what they saw as an attack on democracy coming from Fraser's neo-liberalism.

The significance of the ACOA work test bans (discussed fully in the next chapter with other strategies of resistance) should be seen as a dramatic manifestation of contradictions involved in public service life. The ACOA's left wing personnel **identified themselves** with the working class they saw themselves as serving. That identification marked a distinct break with the idea that the state was serving working class interests through exorcism of the soul of the dole bludger through work test ritual. However, even this potentially potent manifestation of contradiction in the idea that work testing was in the interests of a working class failed to dissolve the categories within which `dole bludgers' were rooted.

It was certainly the state's responsibility to guard against loafing in general. Critique centred on the propensity of work testing to make the lives of those who really weren't dole bludgers difficult through stigmatization and impoverishment because of misinterpretation (resulting in benefit loss). The knowledge apparatus of work testing did not do its job of knowing who were and who were not `bludgers'. Further, the knowledge apparatus was shown to **misinterpret** its objects. The pathologically unemployed subject was revealed beneath the curiously deranged social outcast represented in `dole bludger' mythology. The non-state welfare community challenged the state's ability to **know** the working class the state represented. The state responded by expanding its knowledge to incorporate the pathologically unemployed subject.

A technically perfect knowledge of `dole bludging' would have failed to realise its full disciplinary potential. `Dole bludgers' were only ever important in their general form. The souls of particular claimants remained politically knowable, but administratively opaque enough to keep the project of finding them as a salient issue.

End Notes

1. One significant reversal included reduction in difficulty faced by rural claimants when confronting work tests as farmers.

2. `Where, after a reasonable period, it has not been possible for a person to obtain employment in his usual occupation or work of an equivalent kind, the range of suitable jobs to which he may be referred will be extended. Thereafter he will be referred to all jobs that are within his capacity and available to him regardless of any change in status or wages. A period of six weeks after registration for employment shall be considered a reasonable period. This may be extended to three months where to do otherwise would militate against the finding of employment in that person's usual occupation.' See Man 76-80:5/106 for manual reference.

3. An August manual amendment cemented the validity of the May provisions with the objectivity of a `study':

Preface to Instruction 2/F/8:

> `An investigation of unemployment benefit entitlement for school leavers was made early in 1976. This study saw the following undesirable features in the policy of paying U.B. to school leavers directly on their leaving school:

- some enjoy the Christmas vacation at public expense being able to indicate the commencement date of their employment;
- there are detrimental social effects in discouraging initiative at this crucial stage of a young person's development;

. there is a penalty applied to the person who honestly states his intention of returning to study and a reward to those claiming to be available for work and subsequently continuing their education.

. To overcome these problems payment of unemployment benefit to school leavers and others ceasing their studies will be deferred as follows:

- persons leaving school within 28 days of the end of the school year will be deemed to be students on vacation and ineligible to receive U.B until the commencement of the subsequent school year;

- those ceasing their studies within 28 days of the mid year holidays will likewise be ineligible for U.B. until the end of that holiday period;

- persons completing a university course will be ineligible for U.B. until the exam results are known;

- for simplicity and uniformity the school year will be accepted as commencing from the first of February each year. Eligibility will be from this date or from seven days after the date of lodgement of the claim, whichever is the later.

4.14.119. `Where a claimant refuses an offer of suitable employment, even though the refusal may be a first offence and, in the opinion of the Registrar, the claimant is not genuinely desirous of accepting work, other than work of his own choosing and on his own terms, the claim is to be rejected [or terminated]'

5. Subsection 14.119 was substantially expanded:

14.119 Where a person ceases work and it is apparent that the unemployment could reasonably have been averted, that person's unemployment will be deemed to be voluntary and the mandatory six weeks postponement will be imposed.

Note: (a) Persons who cease work to go on a holiday overseas will not be absolved from these postponement provisions. The lapse of time since work ceased will not be a factor to be considered.

(b) Applications for unemployment benefit from former residents of New Zealand to come to Australia, will also be subject to six weeks postponement.

6. The battle lines were clear even if tactics were sometimes a little dirty such as the Liberal's forcing of a double dissolution in 1975.

7. This probably began earlier given the Treasury's successful resistance to Whitlam policy.

8. This is elaborated in chapter 9.

Chapter 9: Resisting and Reconfiguring Discipline in the 1970's and 1980's

Introduction

After describing how Britain's burgeoning claimant's union movement was irritating trade unions by mobilizing around the slogan `right to live' rather than `right to work,' **The Nation Review's** Wendy Bacon commented:

> I'm not sure to what extent the ideology of a free society via the welfare state fits the English situation. There are several reasons why it's even less likely to apply here. For a start, the counter culture in the cities in Australia is more cut off from the working class in its interests and style of living than its English counterpart. Although there are signs of this changing, in Glebe in Sydney and in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, community action is still pretty much a middle class affair. Secondly, even if these organisations did exist, they would be much less likely to be financed by the social services department. The unemployment problem is never so big here, and the government can afford to be tougher, without creating an embarrassing political situation. (**The Nation Review**, 16/12/1972)

Wendy Bacon's comments indicate the relatively quiet critical scene on the Australian welfare front prior to Whitlam's term in office. Unemployment was still low, the welfare sector was relatively quiescent and the state had not begun to employ dissidents in its ranks. Critique of work test practices gradually gained momentum throughout the 1970's.

Prior to the development of radical politics in the 1970's surrounding UB administration, work testing was an almost entirely private affair between administering departments and claimants. Claimants were so few that administrators could boast of knowing each one personally. When unemployment began to rise, administrative knowledge, centred on the figure of the `dole bludger' contained in bodies of `Surfies and Hippies', was resisted by an array of organised groups.

Prior to formation of organised resistance, there was no possibility of returning the `gaze' enacted by the CES and DSS. UB procedure manuals were kept as confidential documents and independent appeal mechanisms were not established until 1975 with the Social Security Appeals Tribunal and then further in 1980 with the Administrative Appeals Tribunal. Welfare rights advocacy didn't expand until 1976 when limited funding was given to a few organisations to employ specialist advocates.

Claimants could not see back into the Department of Social Security to understand and react against the **process** of `dole bludger' construction. Rather, standard forms containing their identities floated in an ether between the Department of Social Security and The Commonwealth Employment Service. Work test procedures were entirely administrative events subject to the discretion of Ministers or senior bureaucrats such as the Director-General. Much of the politics of resistance pursued during the 1970's was aimed specifically at breaking that condition. Administrative caveat was subjected to a returned gaze and intense politicisation.

Political groups such as Unemployed Workers Unions (UWU) and the Coalition Against Poverty and Unemployment (CAPU) began to grow in number as unemployment increased. UWU's generally comprised politically volatile radical left wing activists, who kept only tangential relations with the organised labour movement. Though small, they were very effective, particularly in their hey days of the late 1970's and early 1980's, in organising demonstrations, if not stable followings.

CAPU was a particularly interesting organisation comprised of more moderate but equally unaffiliated middle class intellectuals including Brian Howe (Minister for Social Security during the most of the Hawke era) and Harry Van Moorst (a Lecturer at Footscray Institute of Technology). CAPU was important for the role it played in facilitating communication networks among politically disparate groups united only in their opposition of state unemployment policies. UWU's and other related radical groups began to mount public demonstrations, composing a rhetoric of popular and violent indignation, within which counter images were constructed of a malevolent state pursuing a class war through UB policy.

The established welfare sector represented by ACOSS, and The Brotherhood of St Lawrence developed increasingly politically critical agendas throughout the 1970's. The Brotherhood of St Lawrence is a Melbourne based inner-city Anglican multi-purpose welfare organisation that was instrumental along with ACOSS in developing an alternative discourse of the unemployed subject. The Brotherhood, and to a lesser extent ACOSS, established the pathologically unemployed subject in a series of studies termed `action research'. Action research was a genre developed specifically to bring about public policy change.

Resisting and Reconfiguring Discipline

The Brotherhood of St Lawrence in Melbourne, and ACOSS in Sydney, a few scattered academics and some news papers such as Melbourne's **The Age, The National Times, and The Nation Review**, began presenting an alternative popular perspective on unemployment and UB claimants. The rediscovery of poverty in the late 1960's and early 1970's stimulated growth in the professional welfare sector and produced a corpus of knowledge against which that constructed by Government members and agents could be compared. It was in this context that social science became a major method of constructing and legitimating an oppositional knowledge of UB claimants.

Even non-`scientific' but `objective' forms of knowledge began to align substantially against institutionalised forms of claimant construction. Norgard and Myer reports published during the mid 1970's condemned both rationale and methods of work testing. These reports were first denied much of their impact by political cries of `non realism' from the right and then became the subject of disputed knowledge claims.

The question was, whose interpretations and whose reports are correct? Reports and studies generated in the critical welfare sector in academe and from within the political state itself, formed concrete bases of dispute over knowledge of the claimant.

The Trade union movement generally remained disengaged from critical networks developed in the 1970's. Their interests were primarily in safeguarding jobs under threat during times of large scale lay-offs. However, they did offer some support to the critical movement in the form of limited funding for nebulously defined and short lived Trade Union Unemployment Centres. These were established as a gesture that they were concerned about workers even after they were forced to leave the work place. Trades Halls also offered limited office space and administrative support for some UWU's.

Nodes of resistance formed at the core as well as outside of the administrative apparatus. One of the most important forms of organised resistance came from CES and DSS officers responsible for work test administration. By 1979, the very growth of the public service employed to operate the burgeoning panopticon, was sufficient to absorb a large number of critical workers, but insufficient to prevent formation of stress on those workers' workloads.

The two dynamics combined to produce the most serious blow to legitimacy of `dole bludgers'. Critical executives of The Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACOA) developed enough support within their own rank and file to stage a `work test ban'. This effectively prevented work testing from being widely practiced in many of the departmental offices located in large urban areas, well into the 1980's.

Other work test dissidents appeared in federally funded Legal Rights Centres, Welfare Rights Centres and even employment training schemes such as the Community Youth Support Scheme. Schemes developed by both the Whitlam and Fraser governments to increase employment through training subsidies, as well as cash grants (Regional Employment Development) to maintain work readiness (particularly in youth) became locations at which skirmishes over the identities of the unemployed were fought.

Tactics employed, separately and on occasion in concert, by these groups emerged during the 1970's and early 1980's as a multi-front assault on work test discipline. Activists interviewed for this study recalled their days as front line dissidents with pride and a sense of camaraderie. They were indeed comrades in arms.

Occasionally personnel from these organisations came together for particular events and generally supported each other's causes. The storming of the Melbourne Club in 1982 was one incident coordinated by Harry Van Moorst's CAPU and supported by people from several other organizations. Some of ACOA's officers distributed joint ACOA/UWU pamphlets protesting work test procedure. Loose coalitions became vehicles for the construction of theoretical as well as tactical agendas.

By 1980, Andrew Burbidge's contribution to the guaranteed minimum income (GMI) debate, which offered a substantially different vision of income support and benefit claimants, emerged as the most sophisticated outcome in the form of a PH. D. dissertation. There were no `generals' directing the battle. Each organisation played its own significant role. However, as a collective they represented growth of a broad front of opposition that could not be ignored by the employed public or by politicians.

The Brotherhood of St Lawrence and Action Research: Constructing Alternative Interpretations of Claimants

In **The Future of Welfare** delivered to VCOSS during October 1975, Concetta Benn[1] made a strong statement indicating a shifting direction of welfare thought. Enhancement of client autonomy should be pursued, away from the Wilenskian notion that welfare should be a network of services to meet needs. Benn argued that Titmus' ideas `envisaged a variety of roles for social welfare to play as a positive and dynamic agent of change' (p.3-6). This was an improvement over earlier notions but still lacked direct reference to empowerment for autonomy which was now the key element on a progressive welfare agenda.

Ben's paper was delivered toward the end of the Whitlam government's term in office. It clearly reflected the role that Whitlam's Social Democracy played as an ideological environment within which progressive welfare might be pursued. Action research aimed at work test procedure blossomed in this environment. After listing a string of ALP initiatives Benn argued:

> many of these structures were generated by the current government consciously mobilizing an emerging social ethic. This new social ethic has been partly produced by the alienating effects of increased industrialisation and partly as a backlash to the inhibiting Protestant ethic which still prevails in our community. Its main characteristics are a demand for participation in the decisions which affect people's lives, a questioning of economic growth for its own sake, and an assessment of the materialist values of our society. (p.6)

These values, in direct confrontation with traditional `labourist' ideals, became cornerstones of resistance strategies. The idea that welfare activists should question `materialist values' brought them into direct confrontation with work test discipline. There would be no place in a post-industrial, post-materialist utopia for disciplinary technologies to ensure attachment to paid work.

Melbourne's Brotherhood of St Lawrence was actively critical of UB policy and procedures through its own publications and research as well as through public representation in the press at a time when unemployment at 1.5% was considered to be of catastrophic proportions. As early as 1961, The Brotherhood published David Scott's **On Benefit ... a Study of Unemployment and Unemployment Benefits in Australia**. Scott's study advocated increasing UB rates. In order to gain support for its cause, 70 abridged case histories of people, mostly families awaiting and receiving

UBs, were documented. The paper attempted to dislodge the idea that unemployment was a phenomenon restricted to `Larikins', drunks and those merely `between jobs' represented by UB administration as being the `hard core' of the unemployed. In February, 1972, just four months after the "Surfie" and "Hippie" Clauses were added to the DSS UB Procedure Manual, David Scott and Peter Hollingsworth published **Why so Harsh on the Unemployed?** to:

> stir members of Parliament, churches, employers, trade union and public interest groups to urge on the Commonwealth Government a more enlightened attitude to those who suffer from unemployment. (Scott and Hollingsworth, 1972: Introduction)

Although, as before, the paper was primarily a critique of benefit rates, it marked the beginning of a long struggle over the interpretation of unemployment beneficiaries. In November 1972, Scott and Hollingworth published their **Unemployment, The Facts and Effects: A Social Action Study by the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence**. It too painted an alternative picture of unemployed people as merely poor rather than work-shy. Later publications such as **Social Implications of Youth Unemployment** (1975), **Living Below the Breadline** (1977), **Myths about Unemployment** (1979), **Out of Work, Out of Sight** (1980) and **Fair Deal for the Unemployed** (1980) added boredom and self-loathing to the list of unemployment pathologies found in this genre.

Unemployment, The Facts and Effects was the first piece of research to directly address translation of labour market discipline through CES procedures. It addressed the inaccessibility of procedure manuals (non departmental people were not permitted to view them) and the range of discretion that departmental officers had in making work test decisions. The CES and DSS had argued that non publication of their manuals allowed them to operate flexibly in response to clients' needs. The Brotherhood argued that inaccessibility itself operated as a disciplinary mechanism. Officers were permitted knowledge of claimants, yet claimants were not enabled to know what the rules were that gave shape to that construction of knowledge. This central feature of the work test panopticon, seeing without being seen, enabled practices that could not be supported as in the interests of a claimant. Unknowable rules surrounding disciplinary action ensured that the claimant would not be able to hide any details of behaviour that the officer may have considered relevant. There could be no dark spaces within which a claimants **real** identity could be concealed. Further, non disclosure of rules surrounding benefit receipt, enabled officers to circumvent those rules in cases where they thought a more personal form of discipline was appropriate:

> The discretionary power is crucial. Some individual officers of the CES have discriminated against persons they dislike. They "black-list" them by such measures as not looking for jobs and sending adverse reports to Social Services. Then, of course, each District Employment Office develops a priority system by which is meant that some unemployed persons are given more attention than others. Individual officers of the C.E.S. have been known to delay the unemployment applications of migrants and young people by telling them to first go to voluntary agencies or its State's Social Welfare Department. Another delaying tactic is to tell people to come back "tomorrow" or "next week" because a job would be available - without giving them an unemployment benefit claim form ... Unemployed persons should be given the opportunity to state why they refused a job offer. But this provision is provided for in a confidential manual which the unemployed do not have access to. How is it possible to appeal against decisions when you are not aware of the basis upon which decisions are made and whether you have a right to appeal. The work test is also interesting for what it does not say as well as for what it does. (p.39)

Unemployment, The Facts and Effects was the first piece of research to reverse the disciplinary gaze. The next release of **Why so Harsh on the Unemployed** was in mid 1974 (Hollingworth, 1974). The document criticised federal ministers for their `scapegoating attitudes' (**The Canberra Times**, 7/22/1974). It was a labour government under fire this time:

> The dissolution of the federal Parliament and the advent of a federal Election tipped the scales in favour of a toughened work test. On April 14, 1974, the Minister for Labour, Mr Cameron, announced that a working party, consisting of senior officers of the Department Labour and the Department of Social security had recommended changes to the work test and that the Working Party expected "these guide lines to minimise abuses and to identify the `workshy' more effectively." Quite obviously, the Labor Government was determined to demonstrate to the work-conscious electorate that it was not soft on the unemployed. (p.19)

Hollingsworth argued that the idea of deserving/undeserving did not apply to the people really affected by unemployment, they were just people with low education, low job skills and often low health. The `**deserving**' in this formulation were those with a high attachment to the labour force. Hollingsworth was beginning to articulate a shift in welfare direction away from labour market oriented residualism.

In 1974, Graeme Brewer joined the Brotherhood as a researcher after returning from England on completion of an M. A. in Social Work. Brewer had been witness to the rise of claimants' unions in the UK as well as critical agendas developed by the welfare sector there. He was impressed with the potential of action research as a vehicle within which a sustained critical agenda might be produced. Issues surrounding unemployment, and particularly work testing were selected as high priority foci. **Workers without Jobs: A Study of a Group of Unemployed People** was Brewer's first contribution in 1975 to this genre. Twenty five pages of the 160 page document were devoted to description of the CES's role and most of that was a critique of work testing. Work testing was:

> arbitrary, mystified and hindered the CES's job placement function: Only rarely are unemployed persons aware of the criteria which the work test is based. Merely the fear of being denied benefit may be sufficient to force someone into work that the person considers to be highly unsatisfying and unsuitable... "I guess beggars can't be choosers. I want to do electrical work. I know that I'd stick it for a very long time. It'd be a new opportunity. Work would become a hobby. Where would I get that sort of opportunity in a factory? But the wife's pregnant and I'll just have to take anything. I don't want to work in a factory. Its a health risk. My father died from the poisonous fumes building up. But they could take me off benefit, I suppose, if I don't take the job they send me to." ... Work test rules are written in broad terms that leave them open to unfair and punitive application. At the very least, they should be composed in such a way that people should be protected from the double jeopardy of being out of work in the first place and feeling pressured into accepting disagreeable (perhaps even noxious) work subsequently. (p. 103)

DSS Field Investigators were reported as pretending to contact beneficiaries, not doing so and having them struck off benefit for not responding to an inquiry. Of the appeals system, Brewer commented that if claimants complained enough in the first place there would be little need for an appeal:

> one man was told by the Department of Social Security that he'd been taken off benefit. When Asked on what basis the decision had been made, he was informed by a counter clerk that the press had been kicking up a fuss about people bludging on the dole and so the rules were being tightened up. The man protested that he was not voluntarily unemployed and demanded, without success, to see someone in authority. He returned the next day and this time managed to see a higher level employee who reversed the earlier decision and authorised an over-the-counter payment so that the man could pay his overdue rent. (p. 106)

Brewer's (1978) **Rough Justice: A Study of the Causes and Effects of the Termination of Unemployment Benefit** was wholly devoted to work test procedure. **Rough Justice** switched from anecdotal critique found in previous studies into a `social scientific' survey sample format. `Rough Justice' took direct aim not so much at individual politicians, though their names featured in Brewer's introduction, but at the politics of unemployment in general. Brewer was concerned to demonstrate how work testing operated in order to show that work test failures were constituted by a system of administration. `Dole bludgers' were constructed in institutional knowledge, rather than being real outside of work test logic.

Through the presentation of case studies, Brewer painted a picture of the CES as an overloaded, contradictory and frustrated organisation, whose officers were guilty of, but perhaps not responsible for, arbitrary enforcement of ridiculous rules. The Social Security Appeals Tribunal established by Hayden, although an improvement over the internal appeal process, was charged with enabling less rights to appellants, making decisions in absence of appellants and having little power to enforce its own decisions.

Rules surrounding interpretation of individual claimants was not the only focus of attack. Knowledge of the numbers of the unemployed contained in statistical reports were seen as flexible enough to be amenable to manipulation. By utilising a statistical method that consistently produced lower unemployment rates, the state could deal with legitimacy crises emerging from knowledge that their steering performances were not effective. The lower the figure the better the government would look.

CES registrations, Australian Bureau of Statistics' Labour Force Survey and DSS statistics on numbers of beneficiaries had been a topic of public debate since the early seventies. In his (1981) paper **Uses and Abuses of Unemployment Statistics** Brewer reviewed five years of changing official treatment of unemployment figures. Among other reasons, the CES figures were usually higher than the ABS figures because many people registered with the CES were considered not in the Labour force by the ABS at their point of survey. Members of the liberal government understood this point:

> In addition to the continuing confusion over the extent and impact of unemployment promoted by the statistical representations of the problem, allegations of impropriety and willful indolence among the unemployed still abounded. Commenting on the most recent attack by senior Government Ministers on CES figures as `largely a myth', created partly by unemployment beneficiaries `who chose quite deliberately not to work', the Political correspondent for The Age, Michelle Grattan, observed in February, 1977, that the `attack is part of mounting criticism in the Government of the CES figures as a measure of unemployment.[2]

The Brotherhood's role in interpreting departmental and claimant realities also found expression in submissions to two key federally sponsored inquiries into operation of the work test. The Brotherhood's (1976) submission to Norgard's review of the CES addressed issues such as behaviour, training and authority of CES counter staff and expansion of job training programs. The paper blamed part of the problems experienced by both staff and clients involved in work test administration on the fact that the CES had to do work testing as well as place clients in jobs. The paper recommended abolition of the work test (p. 8).

The Brotherhood's (1977) **Short-Term Inquiry, Long- Term Issues** was a submission to the Myers Inquiry into UB policy administration. The submission recognised `that the public would be opposed to the abolition of the work test' (p. 30). However they suggested that its amelioration might involve ensuring that the jobs offered involved work conditions that were:

> satisfactory and acceptable. If the unemployed are expected to demonstrate to the CES that they want suitable jobs, perhaps employers could be asked to demonstrate to the CES that their jobs are suitable. (p.30)

Brotherhood positions on work testing began to shift in the mid to late 1980's. After prolonged debate on viability of Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI) options, optimism for securing autonomy **from** the labour market began to fade. The work test would not be abolished because it reached too deeply into the capitalist system's self-understanding. The Brotherhood's Peter Allen presented an overview paper to a May 1984 GMI Conference. After reviewing three types of schemes, all of which could be designed to have the same redistributive effects, one reason was singled out as the most significant for their likely failure and a common argument set up in response:

> One of the most difficult aspects for most people to accept in the original G.M.I. idea, is that unemployed people would receive a G. M. I. regardless of whether they were trying to find work or not. This goes against the prevailing ethos in Australia which is reflected in the work-test on unemployment benefits. Accordingly some G. M. I. proposals have been modified in the Australian context to retain a work-test so that the voluntarily unemployed receive only the lower level of G. M. I. payment. However, the Burbidge scheme involves no work-test. This is based on the belief that the increase in cost due to people opting not to work would be outweighed by the savings in administration and avoidance of harassment of the genuinely unemployed. (p.17)

Allen also argued that the Labor government had turned its back on the political possibility of GMI schemes because its attempts at articulating an alternative vision of welfare in the early 1970's had failed. Political realism demanded continued reproduction of identities of who the `worker' was not. Further serious attempts at reformulating ideas of social citizenship outside of the labour market would be to prompt a legitimacy crisis which the state had appeared to pulling itself out of in the mid-1980's.

Certainly by 1987, the `economic realism' adopted by the right wing of the Labor party was being adopted with some resignation from the institutionalised welfare sector. The Brotherhood's Jan Carter (1987)[3] lamented a little caustically in her **Can There be Social Justice Outside the Labour Market?**:

> If we decide to accept as an unpalatable fact of life the present dominance of the economic over other ideologies - legal, social and moral - in which social justice has traditionally been cast, we have little alternative but to consider this alternative. The labour market however imperfect and discriminatory, is probably a more efficient, effective redistributive mechanism than the welfare system.' (p.8)

The labour market was being accepted, though reluctantly, as the only viable option to address redistributive justice which had long been the critical welfare sector's rationale for decision making. The possibility of creating a legitimate social space outside of the labour market was given over to the inherent logic of the category of unemployment. Utopias were being realigned according what was foreseeably possible.

Carter also commented on the Labor Party's striving to present an image of a `just state' in the terms of `economic realism'. Labor Party response to pressure on its 1973 UB policy changes was singled out as necessary for the for `the state' **in general** to secure legitimacy from institutionalised interests:

> Further we need to consider whether we can achieve our objectives outside the alliance between capital-Labour-Government? Is it the case that Australian governments will address social justice in inverse proportion to the pressure received from the welfare sector? A further dimension is the real possibility of reductions in social expenditure for symbolic rather than economic reasons. This is connected with a general attack on government as a broker and mediator in the achievement of social justice.

The Brotherhood's Alison McClelland was part of the critical welfare community of the late 1970's. By 1988, she had been working closely with Bettina Cass and Brian Howe on the Social Security Review and development of the AES strategy. McClelland continued her opposition of work test principles in a 1988 seminar delivered to New South Wales University's Social policy research Centre in March, 1988 (McClelland, 1988). She still thought strongly about the capacity of work testing to shape and define ideas of what legitimate work was. However, the close connection between income security and labour market programs advocated in Labor's AES strategy was supported as the most viable option in an ideological climate that demanded strengthened attachment to paid work. The `pathologically unemployed' subject established as an alternative to the `dole bludger' as a figure of administration, would be operated on and returned to work within a logic of economic realism that could not contemplate redistribution of wealth outside of the labour market.

Struggle over claims to knowledge of unemployed subjects in the 1970's and early 1980's produced an alternate unemployed subject to the one produced in popular and political consciousness as `dole bludger'. The established welfare sector had, in their efforts to displace `surfies and hippies' from policy agendas, managed to erect a hard working, poor, depressed and alienated subject in their place. Alternative responses to this subject were clear. A legitimate GMI scheme must be adopted to enable disconnection of welfare income from labour markets unable to absorb jobless workers. A social space must be developed within which this new jobless subject might recover a lost sense of connection to society. Alternatively, that subject must be helped to retrieve a connection to the work force from which it was excluded. This would be achieved through job creation or at least by providing virtual employment in labour market training programs.

By the late 1980's it had become apparent that a GMI proposal would not be ideologically acceptable in an environment that was becoming increasingly `economistic' as opposed to `welfaristic' within which GMI's might be a possibility. The established welfare sector found a channel through it might pursue its realistically clinical goals in the Social Security Review. From the early-mid 1980's onward labour market training programs would become a vehicle through which the pathological unemployed subject might be treated.

`Dole Bludging' to `Dole Pathology': Punitive to Clinical Gaze

The shift in political and institutional disciplinary discourse from `dole bludging' to `dole pathology' was noted in 1983 by CAPU's Harry Van Moorst. The figure of the `essential loafer' to be exorcised from the industrial community by starvation was displaced by the host of a new disease. Long-term recipients of unemployment benefits were seen to be languishing on benefits **because** of the **inactive** role played by the Departments of Social Security and Commonwealth Employment Service. A figure quite unable to work effectively **because** of long term unemployment began to replace the unemployed subject causing unemployment because of laziness inherent in a post-industrial generation of `hippies and surfies'.

`Dole pathology' involved systematically induced de-commodification. The `mystery' of the `dole bludger' was pierced in a clinical gaze that sought `causes' outside of the body of the client, and cures within the purview of clinical practice. Harry Van Moorst, writing for Footscray's Urban and Social Research Centre coined the term `Dole Pathology'. Van Moorst drew on an array of research that addressed an individual's unemployment as a condition leading to pathologies such as drug abuse, psychological disorder, family violence and property related crime. Van Moorst argued that such research was methodologically flawed by drawing too much inference from correlational data analysis. However, the main thrust of his thesis was not that unemployed people did not really suffer from the effects of poverty or from forms of social alienation caused by joblessness, but rather that the pathological metaphor developed in response to `dole bludging' failed to displace attention from effecting a personal change in unemployed people as a primary direction of unemployment policy. Bob Hawke made a similar observation in his 1979 Boyer Lecture for the ABC:

> Pathological behaviour may be the reaction of some individuals to these experiences, but it by no means is a necessary or generalised response. The danger of irresponsible or unsubstantiated assertions is that possible behaviour arising out of the loss of income, and the feelings that accompany the psychological experience of individual unemployment, are seen as causal of such pathological behaviour. The logical outcome of this false and simplistic perception is that each individual becomes the repository of antisocial tendencies and, as a group, a potential threat to society. (Hawke, **Speech** (Boyer Lecture), 11/25/1979:10)

Van Moorst's argument neatly focused attention on a discursive shift that underpinned the thrust of Howe's Social Security Review begun 1986 and deserves quoting at length:

> There appears to be a growing tendency to see unemployment as a pathology and as a cause of other pathologies. An ideology of unemployment as pathology is in large part a convenience analogous to the ideology of the unemployed as dole bludgers. Where the one is no longer acceptable the other enables a similar diversion from the reality of unemployment ... instead of seeing them as lazy, incompetent and potentially evil, the unemployed were slowly transformed into people to be pitied as unfortunate, pathological and potentially tragic. [The economic system] was still not effectively challenged ... the unemployment pathology ideology is largely the **unintended consequence of good intentions amidst bad politics**. (Van Moorst, 1983d: 11-12. [My emphasis])

Van Moorst makes the point that discursive relations surrounding unemployment [bad politics] gave shape and to viable alternatives to those wanting to help those who were jobless (good intentions). Van Moorst's argument addresses the economic realism espoused by Howe several years later. Ironically, Howe was instrumental in establishing the The Urban and Social Research Centre which supported Van Moorst's research.

The figure of the reprehensible `dole bludger' to be dealt with in a penal manner had begun a metamorphosis into a patient with a systemically induced illness. Van Moorst's theatre metaphor was useful to highlight the chimerical nature of attempts to address unemployment as a pathological condition. The theatre metaphor was also useful as a method of identifying a shift in discourse and methods of discipline without necessity to appeal to class `intention' for explanation. Van Moorst was more concerned to highlight an unintended disciplinary effect increased salience of welfare professionalism in social policy arenas.

As pointed out earlier, the body of the unemployed person became subject, in increasing degrees, to the concerns of social reformers interested in ameliorating what they saw as the personal plight of unemployment. These efforts were not born of an **intent** to simply find another way of deflecting attention from larger economic issues. Howe was usually quick to deride his Liberal shadow Minister's attempts at arguing that the Labor government was not hard enough on dole bludgers. Cheats would be found with a sophisticated array of investigative technologies and disciplinary devices. However, unemployed people were not **really** `dole bludgers' **(The Australian,** 6/11/1986). They needed help, not abuse. A way of grappling with the idea that large proportions of the workforce could not simply be reabsorbed in the formal economy was pursued through the figure of the `pathologically unemployed'. Identification of and treatment of pathological conditions brought the effects of unemployment into a `treatable', policy context entirely compatible with the prevailing orthodoxy that held re-invigoration of private enterprise as the best response. A UB available `over-the-counter' was creating benefit addicts. These addicts would require prescription benefits administered in Skill Share clinics by welfare doctors. When Howe spoke of Bettina Cass's upcoming issues paper on unemployment, it was clear he meant to wage a war on bad unemployment drugs:

> They (unemployment benefits) were meant as a short-term assistance ... If anyone thinks young people are being done a good turn by keeping them on that sort of payment they are stupid. (**The Australian**, 12/29/1987)

Changes in Labour Market Programmes: C.Y.S.S. - Skill Share

The discursive turn toward pathology effected a progressive reconfiguration of personal attributes of unemployed subjects. This reconfiguration was reflected in refusal by the Hawke government to reinvigorate C.Y.S.S. autonomy in order to defuse or `demobilise' sources of radical critique of welfare policy. C.Y.S.S. premises not only offered places at which political opposition to the Fraser government could be potentially mobilised but also employed individuals who were themselves vocally in opposition to UB policy pursued throughout the Fraser era.

The C.Y.S.S. scheme was announced on the 21st of October 1976 by Anthony Street the Liberal Minister for Employment. Grants were to made to `community' applicants for projects that would instil youth with `a sense of direction and purpose, including an orientation to work' (**The Age**, 10/22/1976). The Age's Michelle Grattan summarised the types of projects envisaged by the new scheme:

> * Group and personal counselling to sustain interest, maintain morale and sharpen employment finding skills. Activities would be aimed at familiarising young people in techniques of job finding, including preparing for interviews.
>
> * Projects which perform some useful function for the individuals and the community, including organisation of youth recreation activities, social service activities, minor maintenance to community facilities, social surveys, conservation, paper and metal recycling activities. These activities would be unpaid and usually less than full-time. (**The Age**, 10/22/1976)

C.Y.S.S. projects potentially provided a foil to offset criticism that the Fraser Government was heartlessly ignoring the fact of youth joblessness and contributing to the loss of a generation. C.Y.S.S. projects were clearly meant to retrieve or at least retain that generation's link to productive activity that was threatening denial. Over the years between 1976 and 1981, C.Y.S.S. projects and officers varied their time between `pre-employment training' and activities involved in an informal `drop-in centre' for jobless youth. Koller, Gosden and Wade's (1980:151) study of Tasmanian C.Y.S.S. centres commented that:

> Some project officers reported that according to the official policy they were supposed to spend 75% of the project's time and effort in employment related activities. [However], more than half the C.Y.S.S. participants had been unemployed for more than seven months and continual exposure to employment activities and sustained failure in finding employment only generated further despair and frustration. In practice, a smaller proportion of time is spent on these employment related activities, not only for the reasons stated but because CYSS projects are not sufficiently equipped or staffed to carry out the official policy.

Although Kenny (1985) doubted the potential for C.Y.S.S. centres to radicalise unemployed people toward overt political action, C.Y.S.S. project officers and centres provided some focus for political activism. The C.Y.S.S. Project Officer's Association expressed potential for radical systemic critique when it optimistically declared in October 1977 that `We will be investigating such things as the re-definition of the work ethic and the role of education and leisure because it looks as though the problem of structural unemployment will be with us for a long time.' (**The Age**, 10/25/1977) In addition, otherwise marginalised political groupings such as C. A. P. U. and other UWU organisations drew on C.Y.S.S. resources for support as well as raising the consciousness of unemployed youth that their unemployment was not their own fault.

C.Y.S.S. project officers also helped amplify difficulties that unemployed youth faced with UB administration. In 1978, unemployed workers affiliated with a C.Y.S.S. project were drawn by `The Pram Factory Theatre' in Melbourne to stage a production displaying life and times of unemployed youth. The show played at the The Pram Factory and travelled to secondary schools in Melbourne. ABC's **Four Corners** (a public affairs television show) ran a special edition on the issue of unemployment and reported that the The Pram Factory's players feared negative work test reports:

> Through a script which they wrote themselves the performers tell a very personal story ... their loneliness and frustration at being out of work. To these

> unemployed, the government is the villain, not the good Samaritan. They have little faith in its relief programmes, including Community Youth Support Scheme in which they were drawn by the theatre group to produce the unemployment show. About 45,000 young people have gone through the CYSS scheme. It's designed to maintain their job readiness, should the job ever come along, through such things as letter writing and community work. The discipline of devising a stage show would seem to fit the bill admirably, but the players are concerned that the department of Social Security could cut off their unemployment benefits because those few hours treading the boards could be better spent job hunting. Something they all claim to pursue ardently between performances. (**Four Corners**, 12/9/1978)

In 1979 the Collingwood (an inner Melbourne suburb) C.Y.S.S. centre calling itself `The factory' wrote a letter, signed by 12 C.Y.S.S. participants, to the editor of **The Age**, protesting what it considered to be unfair treatment from a DSS field officer applying work test provisions:

> In a recent `Job Market' (10/9) you had an article on unemployed people working on the Collingwood Children's Farm. Most of these unemployed people are from `The Factory', a local CYSS group. We are concerned because an unemployed person who has been working full-time on the farm - on a voluntary basis - in order to gain work experience, is threatened with being cut off employment benefits. The person concerned was visited by a Field Officer from the Department of Social Security and asked to produce a list of recent job applications. On informing them that he was involved in a government funded CYSS scheme and had been working full time on the farm, he was told: "Voluntary work is all very well, but that's not looking for work." ... At a time when there are 25 applicants for every job vacancy, Social Security's policy towards job seeking is unrealistic. In times of high unemployment, some of us, particularly those who are young and untrained are unemployable. To insist that we apply for several jobs in a week, only to be knocked back, is needlessly vindictive. Not only are we constantly being told that we are lazy and a burden on society, but we have to suffer constant knock-backs from employers who have been inundated with job applications, inevitably crushing confidence. This form of harassment will not achieve anything. (**The Age**, 10/1/1979)

One C.Y.S.S. project officer wrote of her proximity to unemployed people as being politicising enough to move her to write a book entitled `How to Make the Most of Living on the Dole'. Debra Sara wrote of her work as a project officer:

> I see this job as being an eye opening and politicising experience. Had I not worked in this project I wouldn't have believed that so many people of all sorts from all walks of life, skilled and unskilled, educated and uneducated could be reduced to the status of unemployable. The situation is very real to me. These aren't statistics to me these are real people. (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 5/3/1980)

C.Y.S.S. funded projects such as Canberra's Jobless Action also produced literature providing `survival information' as well as a medium for unemployed people to express their views. Jobless Action's `**Hard Times**' wrote of the uncomfortable situation where `the unemployed live in a ghetto of poverty surrounded by affluence'(**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 7/21/1980). Another C.Y.S.S. funded publication, `Off the Streets' produced in Sydney provided information about `creative leisure for young unemployed people' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 12/2/1980).

The April 1981 Auditor General's report on Government spending heavily criticised the CYSS scheme for `woefully inadequate methods of monitoring the spending of public money' (**The Bulletin**, 4/14/1981). The disciplinary potential of a `labour market program' was being undercut by project officers preferring to expand their participants life experiences rather than place them back on a treadmill. The Auditor General's report was followed in August 1981 by the announcement that C.Y.S.S. funding would be reduced by two thirds to $4.5m, allowing it continue in operation until the end of October 1981 at which point it would cease altogether (**The Age**, 8/19/1981).

The backlash was swift and intense. The `Under 18 income Campaign', assisted by The Youth Affairs Council of Victoria, sent 150 youth to Canberra to protest the August budget which included the CYSS cut (**The Youth Affairs Council of Victoria**, Press release, 8/19/1981). On the 20th of August `The Liberal Party headquarters in Canberra was invaded by about 60 unemployed young people in a protest which ended in 19 arrests' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 8/21/1981). `After regrouping, the remaining protesters marched back to Parliament House' (**The Canberra Times**, 21/8/1981). Federal Liberal Backbenchers including Victoria's Falconer and Tasmania's Goodluck attacked Cabinet's C.Y.S.S. decision after being `inundated with telegrams and protest phone calls' (**The Age**, 8/20/1981). Local government councillors, most of them traditional Liberal supporters, added their voices to senators, the Brotherhood of St Lawrence and C.Y.S.S. project officers in public criticism of the C.Y.S.S. cuts (**West Australian**, 9/8/1981; **The Mercury**, 9/9/1981; **The Canberra Times**, 3/9/1981; **The Canberra Times** 9/23/1981).

Although the Liberals backed down on the cuts, and agreed to merely reduce rather than cease spending, the character of C.Y.S.S. programs began to change. In October, 1982, Labor's Elaine Darling argued that the C.Y.S.S. was `fast becoming another conveyor belt to nowhere' by forcing social workers, once hired to provide moral support, into running `job courses' (**The Courier Mail**, 10/25/1982). Barry Jones lamented that attempts to provide pre-employment training designed to keep work motivation alive in the minds of jobless youth was not only useless but squandered opportunities for social development:

> "The work ethic is no longer a beacon if there is no work." Senator Jones said Australia like the rest of the developed world, faced a "post industrial age" in which society would have to re-assess its ideas on how to cope with an expanding population and diminishing employment. "There is nothing wrong with a society if that system could restore the confidence, self respect and happiness of those whom our established society has failed" he said. (**The Courier-Mail**, 10/25/1982)

Jones' commitment to post-industrial ideals were mostly manifest in a romantic attachment to self sustaining `communes' that might be able to provide a panacea to unemployment. For him, transition of C.Y.S.S. programs toward a pre-employment model was a move in the wrong direction.

However, The Labor Government was not keen to reinvigorate a scheme that seemed a training ground for radical dissidence. By 1987, C.Y.S.S. management committee's were required to be composed of at least a CES officer and `wherever possible' local employers, local government, technical and other education sectors' (Australia, Department of Employment Education and Training, 1987: 4). C.Y.S.S.'s principle objective was more clearly related to labour market entry and the CES officer was there to ensure that this objective was at least given priority:

> To assist unemployed people aged 15-24 years inclusive to obtain and retain employment or to proceed to further education or training by enabling local communities to develop the work and personal skills of local unemployed people.(Australia, Department of Employment Education and Training, 1987 :4)

In 1983, many Commonwealth Training Programme and C.Y.S.S. projects were amalgamated to form Skill Share centres. Skill Share projects were to be closely labour market oriented. Projects had to reach agreed upon through-put and content objectives before funding would be granted or re-granted. During a late 1991 visit by the author to a Skill Share project, `Greenhills'[4] it was discovered that at least this project was radically different than the Tasmanian C.Y.S.S.'s referred to in Koller et al's study. Greenhills had been a C.Y.S.S. project that had been converted to Skill Share. Greenhills was a formally organised centre where basic work/life skills such as cooking, cleaning, pre-college typing, introduction to computers, welding, and a range of agricultural skills were made available to mainly youth. Entry to Greenhills came mainly from CES referral as a prerequisite. While C.Y.S.S. project officers tended to maintain a very close collegiate relationship with project participants, Greenhills' leadership developed a close employer, teacher/student relationship with theirs. The following field notes (Law, 1991: 115-136) were taken shortly after each of two visits to Greenhills. These notes are presented here to convey the tone of Greenhills' social atmosphere and its central place in the community within which it was located.

> I'm sitting in a coffee shop mulling over the days events. I've just come back from a trip out to Greenhills, a Skill Share program run along pseudo-private enterprise lines. I heard about the place from Bob[5] (a UWU activist). Bob began talking about 19th Century Poor Laws and the workhouse as a place of work discipline: "that acted like a work test by sending people there and if they didn't want to go then they'd lose their parish relief." He said that there are still workhouses around and that there was one right near here called Greenhills. He then quickly told me the story of a boy who'd gone there, didn't get on well with the bosses and was put out into the greenhouse (a very hot place), to pick flowers. Bob argued that picking flowers was not much of a skill to learn. Bob said that motivation was the prime object of this place: "it tried to turn people into `good' workers buckling under to authority." He then went on to tell me that he had limited access to materials on the subject of work houses from the local public library and that one story in particular stuck in his mind ... that of a: "parish that used bone grinding as a work test where people ground bones into some sort of meal. The people were so poor they'd steal some of the bones and eat the remaining meat from them."
>
> He suggested I go out and have a look for myself - an idea that was further spurred by the discovery in one of his boxes of a Greenhills contract, a statement of reciprocal obligation that participants had to sign. At 12.30 I called Bruce[6], explained that I was interested in comparing pre- and post-1983 work test arrangements and would like to see his operation.

An impression of discipline in a total institution was developed by the author from interaction with the unemployed workers' movement. At first it appeared that the CES was sending people (mainly youth) to Greenhills in a fashion that resembled Melbourne's 19th century Charity Organisation Society referrals to Leongatha. This time it was state administrators enacting executive duties on behalf of `society' which now included real workers. The shift in focus from C.Y.S.S. projects to Skill Share clearly demonstrated a concern to clinically operate on an individual's sense of connection to the labour market. Rather than provide opportunity for opting away from attachment to paid work, Greenhills aimed to re-invigorate the commodity form in those affected by unemployment pathology.

> Greenhills was an ex-C.Y.S.S. project "set up to sell" and that's when Skill Share came into being. Bruce smiled when he said: "because of the success in terms of numbers of people placed and community response, Greenhills managed to survive." Bruce thought that "Skill Share was partly designed to kill off C.Y.S.S. but they couldn't because the lobby was too strong and all they (C.Y.S.S.) were doing was giving coffee to kids, and maybe some pool tables, not really helping the problem and possibly contributing to it."

Greenhills integrated itself with the surrounding community by combining work experience with community service. Participants were not only given an opportunity to recover a worker identity, but were also given an opportunity to directly contribute to the community within which they were associated.

> To contextualize Greenhills a bit, it's about 15 kilometres from town in a rural setting. I didn't want to be obtrusive with a camera so I didn't take any photos. Bruce personally showed me around the place. He was obviously a very proud person and glad to talk about it. We started in the dining room (a logical place for the consumption of a cup of coffee), where he told me that participants get experience on how to do restaurant work - table clearing and setting in addition to a whole range of catering activities. As a cost recovery exercise, they let the place out to community groups for a fee. "That way the community groups have somewhere to go and the participants (I had to consciously stop myself from thinking `inmates' after Bob's build up), get real live experience." They also did room servicing as accommodation was also available: "the best way to get experience at cleaning scuffs off floors is to clean off floors that are scuffed."

Greenhills central location in the community was exploited to gain markets for produce. Opportunity to produce salable goods and services also enabled Greenhills to expose its participants to real market experience otherwise unobtainable. Skill Share staff were experienced people from industry who were there to add to the pragmatic atmosphere as well as to provide direction in course on marketable skills.

> Participants came from CES referrals, ranged widely in age and are mainly, though not all, locals. As we talked, a mentally handicapped woman walked between us. When she had gone a respectable distance back into the dining room, Bruce said: "That woman who just passed by came to us a few days ago in tears. She had no job and no place to go. So, we took her in and gave her something to do." Several times during the 1 1/2 hour long visit Bruce spoke of

> the place as if it were something of a mission for him: "helping people gain self-respect, gain a chance for something to do, become basically literate via the literacy officer, (Bruce said that around 40% of the Participants who come are illiterate) and to learn basic work skills like turning up at 9.00 every day." The angle was far more efficient than merely putting people through hoops. The place tried to pay for itself. Participants were confronted with far more `realistic' situations in this way than otherwise because if they didn't fall into line pretty quickly they were out: "which, for under 21 year olds, means no change in benefit but for the over 21s a drop of $30.00 per week (a reduction from training allowance back to Job Search Allowance)."[7] The `private enterprise' effect was reinforced when Bruce talked about the transition from the welfare run organisation prior to Skill Share to the present arrangement: "Its like any organisation, where people come to work with husband or wife problems or personal problems. We say `leave them at home, here you work'. It's more like the real world than just patting them on the back and saying `there, there'. Rather than being `welfare workers', most of us are from private industry. All the people have practical experience doing what they do, that is not `teachers' but people with hard industry knowledge. Oh, we look after them, but they have to **work**". Bruce Spoke very proudly of the fact that Greenhills expects to turn over 3/4 of a million dollars this year: "not too shabby for a place that employs `no-hopers' and uses crude and small scale equipment."

Formation of a labour force identity was seen as important as job placements upon which Greenhills was evaluated. By the end of the author's visit, it was clear that participants were not forced to steal scraps of meat from old bones as Bob had intimated. Participants were not treated with contempt. Greenhills staff were genuinely committed to rescuing participants from unemployment pathologies. The author was moved by the warmth with which Greenhills staff regarded their charges. However, the genuine concern displayed by staff does not offset the fact that clinical discipline was enacted. It does however take away from the image that Greenhills sought to **punish** participants into being real workers.

> Bruce recognised the growth of and implications of long-term unemployment: "We only provide very basic skills here to sharpen them up and make them work ready. There **is** long-term unemployment and we have to begin to realise that people won't get jobs for long periods of time - some of these are 2nd and third generation unemployed. We have to keep them motivated until a job comes along". This was tempered shortly before hand with the assertion that learned skills could be applied on a community or voluntary basis: "People have to do something. It doesn't matter what it is, but it must be something. We have got to recognise that unemployment is a long-term phenomenon and that people will be out of work for long periods of time". He shook his head and continued while staring at the ground: "I don't know what they do when they're unemployed, no money and nothing to do ... it must be terrible."

> Bruce talked at length about Greenhills and its politics and I promised not to link him with whatever I wrote. Greenhills is evaluated on a pseudo `return on investment' basis ... dollars and placement rates. (It was not clear how long after leaving Greenhills a placement could be called theirs). In addition to this, their own goals include providing life skills and just basic self esteem. Bruce put it this way: "We do the cost recovery, we do the placement rates and that's great. But these things allow us to get on with what we're also about, and that's giving people's self-esteem back to them."
>
> With a placement rate of about 30% that means 70% don't get placed but among that 70% about half are what Bruce called "successes". They were successes in terms of getting a huge amount of self-esteem. "Women who are 15 years out of the work force are forced onto unemployment benefits after their kids outgrow single parents pension ... they need to know they are useful". Bruce talked of Mike who was 26 years old and had never worked because he was too shy. He was told he was a "no-hoper" by CES standards. He voluntarily entered Greenhills and discovered himself that people would give him a go if he tried hard enough. Bruce went with Mike to an interview and did Mike's talking with him as Mike was still quite shy. Mike didn't ask how much the pay was, but said `I just want the job'. "Mike had learned the personal value of doing **something.**" After listening to Bruce, I've become quite moved by the `lost generation' idea. Places like Greenhills can be a life raft for many.

C.Y.S.S. projects were turned from places where `motivation crises' were developed into Skill Share operations at which motivation crises were solved. `Good workers' were those willing to maintain the belief that the labour market would one day provide a sense of self that they had lost in unemployment. There was no opportunity in the present study to examine how participants in schemes experienced their times as trainees, or how they thought that their lives were enriched or estranged by their encounters with virtual employment. However, a recent British publication addressed these issues in relation to the Youth Training Scheme (YTS). Hollands (1990) examined `the way in which working class identities are being reshaped in and against the new regimes which have been set in place to produce the kind of youth labour required by post-industrial capitalism' (p. ix). Hollands argued that organised and political arms of the labour movement as well as the Conservative Thatcher government, were incapable of seeing beyond the necessities of a `simple' training paradigm in order to instill work motivation. Hollands' ethnographic study of YTS participants revealed youth as capable of forming their directions into adulthood. Resistance to training regimes' intent on instilling competitive spirit was manifest by the low `take-up' of competitive spirit. Youth enjoyed these schemes, partly because they got to do things with other youth:

> The imposition of new skilling regimes is by no means an unproblematic or automatic gesture. Some young people refuse to accept that they are deficient in

> the skills and cultures necessary for many working-class jobs. Different working-class cultural responses also exploit the loose structure of progressive forms and flaunt entrepreneurial models, as much as they reject formal learning in basic literacy and numeracy. (Hollands, 1990: 73).

Hollands also cautioned that too much emphasis should not be placed on informal resistance strategies and that `some do come to believe in either corporate entrepreneurial or careerist ideologies during their stint on schemes' (p. 73). In other words, the operation on the soul of the `pathological unemployed' subject is incomplete, though achievable through intensive discipline exacted in labour market training schemes. The `clinical citizenship' disciplinary regime may provide far more potent and sophisticated methods of commodification than simple `dole bludger' strategies of exorcism.

The King St Job Centre and Contradictions in Discourse of Autonomy

The Brotherhood's success in enhancing claimant autonomy through advocacy in action research in the 1970's and 1980's was dependent on its legitimacy as a group that didn't threaten acceptable **forms** of argument, or breach codes of rational conduct in delivering their message. This made alignment with radical UWU groups problematic. UWU groups did not have resources nor desire to produce Action research. Rather, their's was a revolutionary message delivered through non-legitimate means.

Contradictions in notions of client enhancement were manifest in the Brotherhood's operation of The King Street Job Centre (the centre). The centre was designed as a `self-help' project for unemployed people in Fitzroy (an inner-city Melbourne suburb). Self-help for unemployed people was initially encouraged in administrative form via client participation in management and in political form by facilitating UWU meetings. However, this kind of `openness' soon conflicted with Brotherhood ideas of what appropriate autonomy should be like. Too much autonomy was not seen as desirable.

At the same time as the King St Job centre was opened, The Victorian Federation of Unemployed self-help groups was formed as an umbrella organisation for 12 participating groups formed around unemployment issues. Two members of the federation had a delegate on a Victorian State Standing Committee on Youth

Unemployment. In this way the employed could keep tabs on the unemployed. Grifith (1977/6) commented:

> In theory, the unemployed helping themselves means virtual exclusion of the unemployed. In practice, the employed are necessary to the unemployed. The unemployed need to recognise the need for leaders to act and speak on their behalf otherwise unemployed self-help groups will become victims of the tyranny of structurelessness. (p. 23)

In other words, the unemployed would not be politically effective without the help of professional social workers.

The King St Job Centre (The Centre) was established as an experiment to test assertions made in the press that there were plenty of jobs and that it was really the work motivation of the unemployed that gave rise to high unemployment figures. Planning for the centre began in January 1976 and it opened in 1977. Participation of radical UWU members was at first welcome. Brewer (1978:10) described the opening ceremony:

> The centre's coordinator outlined the service goals and the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr Street, read a speech about the Federal Government's programme to combat inflation and unemployment - amid jeers from a small group of unemployed protesters - and declared the Job Centre officially open. The presence of Mr Street and, as it happened, a group of protagonists, guaranteed widespread and mixed media coverage of the opening. If the Official opening was less than triumphal, it was, at least, eventful.

The centre's official objectives were: (i) to help the unemployed find and retain those jobs that do exist and to help tease out jobs from employers in the community; (ii) to help the unemployed cope with their unemployment, not as a symptom of personal failure, but as a consequence of economic circumstances beyond their personal control; (iii) to help the dignity of the unemployed and to affirm their right to work and, in the meantime, their right to adequate support from government and the community; (iv) to help the unemployed to help themselves through a resource centre established for and by the unemployed (Brewer, 1978:21). Fine democratic goals were operationalized:

> the job centre was intended to provide a job placement service, social support to the unemployed, welfare rights information and the means for the unemployed to organise themselves.

Within a few months of its operation the Centre had discovered some of the difficulties that the CES faced in placing people in jobs in a changing labour market:

> With the growing realisation that no amount of effort could elicit non-existent jobs and with staff being constantly thwarted in their job placement task by this factor - as well as the mismatch of skills between the unemployed and those vacancies that do not exist - the objective of job placement lost favour. (Brewer, 1978:17)

Advocacy functions of the centre were performed in various ways. These included: media responses to `work for dole' proposals; the organisation of a meeting between unemployed people and Dr Myers during his inquiry into unemployment benefits; provision of a focus for the production of Brewer's **Rough Justice**; and limited support of an unemployed worker's movement group `Unemployed Action Group' in the form of a $500 grant for operating expenses and allowing them to use the centre as a meeting place. The Unemployed Action Group was formed at one of the centres' meetings to stimulate `autonomy' in unemployed people. However relations between The Unemployed Action Group and the Centre manifest relations between most of the unemployed workers groups and the institutionalised welfare network:

> Although it is consistent with Brotherhood policy to withdraw its auspices from new groups and to promote their autonomy, it was especially keen to accomplish this in respect of the Unemployed Action Group because of the likelihood of being politically compromised. (Brewer 1978: 74)
>
> The centre will not be involved with independent and autonomous groups. The Centre itself cannot afford to be identified with any particular group that would limit its opportunities to help other unemployed. (Brotherhood press release, March 17, 1977 quoted in Brewer 1978: 75)

The Brotherhood offered some resources, but made it clear that it did not support all of the aims of the Unemployed Action Group and that the Brotherhood's name was not to be used by the group. Having advertised the open meetings of unemployed people just a few weeks earlier, the Brotherhood found itself forced to declare its own detachment from the outcomes of the meetings because of the groups radical trajectory. Involvement of unemployed people in the Job Centre's

Figure 9. 1

A 1979 Melbourne demonstration protesting Ian Viner's changes to work test rules received television coverage. Photographer unknown. Courtesy, Victorian Unemployed Workers' Union.

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management also became problematic when it was realised that not only were management skills lacking in their clients, but also that those clients wanted autonomy **from** the brotherhood.

The single success of the Job centre was publication of its (1978) **Guidebook for the Unemployed** toward advocacy and away from Job referrals. The Guidebook was a `plain English' expose of basic rules and procedures surrounding unemployment benefits. As with other publications of a similar nature, the Guidebook was illustrated with cartoons putting across the message that the system and many of individuals in it, were in opposition to the unemployed and they had better have their wits about them if they were going to survive. The front cover showed a reserve bank cheque by which unemployment benefits are paid, the cheque was made payable to `A Worker, 4 Scapegoat St., Hopetoun'.

Unemployed Worker's Unions

Unemployed Worker's Unions (UWU's) began formation in major cities throughout Australia during the early-mid 1970's. They varied widely in form, purpose, and political orientation. Canberra's Jobless Action Centre was a C.Y.S.S. funded operation and tended toward coordination of community services. Melbourne's UWU was similar in style and organisational form to other's such as The Woolongong out of Workers Union and the Sydney, Adelaide and Darwin Unemployed Workers' Unions.

None of these unions were able to mobilise mass political support as some of their counterparts did in the 1890's and the 1930's. However, they were highly successful at organising demonstrations. Throughout the late 1970's and early 1980's UWU activity centred on mounting visible protest at unemployment in general and DSS and CES regulations and operations in particular. The demonstrations served not only to dramatically highlight the issues of concern, but also to highlight state repression. Most demonstrations, as with earlier periods, were attended by police.

In December 1978, Melbourne's UWU held a soup kitchen outside of the National Gallery at which a dinner for delegates to a conference on unemployment convened by The Victorian Premier Hamer was held. The protest was to: `point out to the Government the similarities between our present situation and the 1930's Depression' (**The Advertiser**, 12/11/1978). Hamer had been a strong advocate of the idea that unemployment was a myth and that `there has never been a real excuse for any able-bodied unemployed person not to work when jobs are available' (**The Herald**, 3/12/1974). The demonstrators, numbering between 100-150, were not deterred by the 40 strong police cordon that had been arranged to protect the conference (**The Canberra Times**, 12/13/1978):

> Tomatoes narrowly missed the Premier, Mr Hamer, Mr Thompson and other conference leaders as they crossed the Gallery forecourt. A Premier's Department Official was hit on the leg by a tomato and police and demonstrators scuffled. About 150 demonstrators protesting about unemployment shouted abuse and slogans and clanked tin mugs and plates. During the Dinner, demonstrators struggled with kitchen staff, waiters and waitresses in a bid to break into the plush dinner through the kitchen. Police escorted the demonstrators away. Minutes later, about 10 protesters - who were invited to the dinner - scooped their food into plastic bags, left the tables and addressed Mr Hamer. One girl told him: "In view of the amount of money being spent on this occasion, we feel obliged to leave." Outside, they shared the food with other demonstrators. Guests arriving were met with chants of "Jobs for Today - tomorrow never comes" and "more jobs - less bull." Tomatoes rained around Mr Hamer as he walked briskly from his car. More tomatoes rained around Mr Thompson and one splattered on the chest of a policeman who ran to shield him. Punches and kicks were traded as a police cordon fought back the demonstrators. One girl was arrested and dragged away. (**The Sun Pictorial**, 12/13/1978)

During September and October of 1979, Malcolm Fraser faced demonstrations from members of Unemployed Worker's Unions in Sydney at the Wentworth Hotel, in Canberra at The Australian National University, in Adelaide at Victoria Square and in Hobart at The Australian Government Centre. Tomatoes featured again in the Hobart Demonstration:

> The protest was to counter the Federal Government's "expensive publicity stunt" of holding a Cabinet Meeting in Hobart, an Unemployed Worker's Union Spokesman said. The Crowd - about 150 at its peak - became restless when Mr Fraser had not turned up by 4.30 pm. By the time he arrived, about 4.45 pm, the crowd had dwindled to around 100. As soon as they saw him, they surged towards him, shouting abuse as they mobbed him. Police could not hold them back. Soup from a soup kitchen which had been set up as part of the demonstration, was hurled at the Prime Minister. It spattered his hair, and dribbled down his suit coat, tie and shirt. Police who were flanking Mr Fraser, pressmen and government aides also were spattered during the 75 metre walk from the car to the building entrance. Police photographers had film of the incidents and those involved. As he left about an hour later - after changing into a clean suit, shirt and tie - demonstrators again surged at him, chanting and

> cursing. One - said by a witness to have been a female - spat in his face as police jostled him into a Commonwealth car. (**The Mercury**, 10/3/1979) ... Malcolm Fraser, Ashen Faced and justifiably furious as the spittle dribbled down his forehead - looked as if he could cheerfully strangle his assailants as, like a lynching mob they chanted: "How do we want Fraser, Dead, Dead, Dead". When I asked one of the UWU demonstration's organisers, Paddy Garrity, whether it had, in fact been soup that spattered on the Prime Minister, he confirmed that it was and added: "What Fraser doesn't know was that I p...d in it. (**The Mercury**, 10/4/1979)

Demonstrations by UWU members in and around CES and DSS offices were common. Lauceston's UWU protested the work test changes outside of the CES Office in Paterson on the 24th of November, 1979 bringing with them their soup kitchen and a petition protesting the June '79 work test changes (**Examiner**, 11/24/1979). UWU Protests outside parliament were often loud enough to disrupt proceedings in the house of representatives as they did on the 22nd of November before `police quickly moved to hustle them away to the Sargent at Arms' office' (**The Canberra Times**, 11/23/1979). One UWU demonstration in Melbourne, involving an estimated 130 people, invaded a downtown department store. The demonstration had begun with a `taking over' of a downtown DSS office and moved on to the department store. However instead of the expected arrival of police they were offered job application forms:

> Startled shoppers stood aside as the group chanting and carrying banners walked through Myer's ground floor to escalators for the eighth floor office. Myer executives handed out application forms and said that everyone would be interviewed. As a result of the mass application, one girl had been offered a job and about 15 others were being considered for a variety of positions, including management training. Many had been graduates and others had experience which the company could use. (**The Advertiser**, 12/13/1979)

In April 1980, eleven Adelaide UWU activists were arrested for their `occupation' of a CES office in Adelaide. The UWU had set up a trestle to hold refreshments. Their intention was merely to stage a `gesture of frustration'. They wanted to be visible to those using the office and, more importantly, to someone with enough authority to receive a list of demands for job creation programs and improvement of UB conditions. The authority receiving their list was the Commonwealth police officer who arrested them. The Judge sentencing the first of the group:

> said he sympathised with people who were unemployed through no fault of their own, and who wished to find work. But those who broke the law in support of

> their beliefs had to be ready to face the consequences of their actions. (**The Advertiser**, 9/10/1980[my ref#7311])

Perhaps the most `high profile' event staged by a UWU organisation during the post war period was when Melbourne CAPU and UWU members `stormed' the Melbourne Club (an exclusive club for Melbourne's business elite) in November 1982. 17 members of a group calling itself `Work for Today' were arrested in October, 1982 when they burst into the Melbourne club brandishing a list of demands which included that free meals and accommodation be provided at the Club for the unemployed, pensioners and children of working women. The protesters were arrested and loaded into an unmarked wagon used for dog catching. (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 10/13/1982) A month later, a larger contingent returned. **The Age**'s report of November's Melbourne club `invasion' featured a cartoon showing two plump, middle aged and well dressed businessmen sitting in chairs facing each other and surrounded by a ring of Victorian Police. One businessman said to the other: `Perhaps we should employ a few more.'

Harry Van Moorst's Coalition Against Poverty and Unemployment organised the demonstration, called `March to Stop the City', involving over 1000 people. They met at the Melbourne Stock Exchange Building and Marched up Collins street toward the Melbourne Club. The demonstrators reached the Club at around 7:00 pm on the 12th of November and rushed the front doors:

> Five Policemen were standing on the steps. At least two of the policemen pinned against the door were having trouble breathing before the doors gave way. One used the point of his elbow to try to protect his body during the crush, which lasted about three minutes before the doors opened. A Police inspector who was one of the five men crushed against the doors said later: "You couldn't get a breath". After the doors had bulged inwards several times and the locks gave way, the police kept ahead of the demonstrators. Inspector Brendan Gaffy said : "It's like the tide isn't it. You've just got to go." Fifteen demonstrators from among the 1000 who had marched against unemployment got into the club. Two inner glass doors were smashed, furniture and book shelves were upturned and a chair was thrown through an upstairs window from the inside. One woman protester, who was among the 15 in the club, said she had broken through the main doors and managed to get to the top of the first flight of stairs where a closed door had barred her way. She was then grabbed by police. The woman, who did not wish to be identified, said that police had not been rough with her, but that she had seen another protester rammed against a wall. Demonstrators outside cheered when three protesters appeared at windows of the club. Those outside also threw objects at windows and police - a loud haler, batteries, full beer cans and fruit, sticks and a slipper. The demonstrators besieged the club for more than an hour demanding the release of

> 15 who were being held inside. Eventually at least 100 police were involved with an estimated 50 forming a barricade outside the entrance to the club. Several brawler vans were parked nearby. They [(the protesters]) charged a second time but police kept them out. Negotiations for release of the detainees involved police, a solicitor and members of the committee that organised the march. During the wait for negotiations, objects were thrown at the club building. Twelve of the detainees were released without being charged. A police spokesman said there were no definite informants so charges could not be laid. When the twelve emerged there was loud cheering from hundreds of demonstrators who remained. Two men and a woman were taken from the club at 8.24 pm and the couple of hundred demonstrators who remained headed for Russell Street police headquarters to await the release of the three after they had been charged. (**The Age**, 11/13/1982)

UWU organisations (with the exception of those like Melbourne's CAPU and Canberra Jobless Action Centre) were generally ideologically disorganised. They had few principle affiliations with the mainstream labour movement, a nodding acquaintance with the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) (often providing them with initial organisational assistance) and constantly struggled to give coherence to their agendas. Linkages with the organised left that had been established through provision of offices at Trades Halls, funding for administrative expenses and organisational advice, was scattered and tenuous. Even the CPA, often found them too radical to deal with. They were generally considered to be so independent that they were often labelled `anarchist'. The movement with which they found most solace, particularly in Sydney, was the Squatters' Union.

Although the Labour Party generally disavowed connection with UWU activities, they found its' protest activities provided a convenient foil for Liberal Party Opposition. In 1979, the Labor dominated Northcote (an inner Melbourne Suburb) City Council (NCC) bought a gas station located opposite its town hall, for use in an indeterminate future. The council offered the site to the Victorian UWU rent free. In November, 1983 The Council authorised demolition of the UWU headquarters. Para-military `Special Operations' state police arrested 16 UWU members present in the old gas station and then immediately demolished it. The legal battle for possession of the gas station lasted for around 12 months up to the demolition. A December, 1983 edition of `**Fightback**' (Victorian UWU's newsletter) provides a brief summary of events from the UWU's perspective:

> For the past 18 months the UWU has fought a concerted battle with sections of the ALP who have attempted to silence the union as an independent organisation of unemployed workers. The NCC has merely been a front for the

> attack. On Tuesday 22 November, at dawn, a para-military force, the Special Operations Squad raided the Union Headquarters with guns and sledge hammers. After the raid, workers being used as scabs demolished the Union Office within an hour as the council had previously arranged. This action was in direct defiance of a union black ban imposed by the BLF (Building Labourers Federation) on demolition work on that site. The public stance of the ALP Council has been to have people believe that the conflict was over the council's **need** for the building and the union's "unfair and irresponsible" continued occupation in the face of that "need". However, if this had been the case, why have they now come through some five excuses as to what it was "needed" for? The answer is that the "need" for the building was a lie to begin with, designed to cover up their opposition to the right of unemployed workers to control their own union.
>
> The NCC undertook to ensure that the control of the Union would be through people employed through the state labour Government via funding, and therefore answerable to and in the pockets of the ALP. When opposition to this move grew and members demanded a General meeting be called, they were then invited to a meeting with a senior Labor parliamentarian, where he suggested that they too could be employed through state Government if they dropped the call for the general meeting. This offer to the individuals was rejected. The NCC issued an eviction notice. (Unemployed Workers' Union (Victoria), 1983)

When the Federal Labor government took power in May 1983, UWU's continued their attacks on social security policy. Very little had changed.

Protests mounted by the UWU movement in the 1970s and early 1980s helped make the plight of the unemployed visible. These protests certainly contradicted the view that the cause of unemployment was increases in `hippie and surfie types'. Demonstrators were active and angry rather than sly and passive. The demonstrations also served to highlight state repression. Most demonstrations, as with earlier periods, were attended by police and involved arrests. The demonstrations of defiance when seen together with critical welfare sector lobbying and ACOA's public service worker ban on work testing, added to the view that unemployment benefit policy was brutal and an attack on a wide cross section of the community `the state' was supposed to be protecting.

Contradictions Experienced by State Personnel: ACOA/PSU Strike Back

In relation to the mid-1979 work test changes, Ian Viner argued that `what a government must do is to strike a fair balance between its responsibility to the people who provide the funds - the tax-payers and those genuinely in need of income support' (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 7/11/1979). Viner's press release announcing the changes put a blunt edge on the argument:

> Those who were not making reasonable efforts to find work; who refused suitable work that they were offered, or voluntarily placed themselves in a position where no work was available, or simply wanted to live off unemployment benefits should not be supported by the tax-payer. (Viner, **Press Release**, 7/4/1979)

One political correspondent wasn't convinced. When commenting on Viner's return from an International Labour Organisation meeting in Geneva, to face reaction to the June work test changes, Brett Bayley spoke sharply of the contents of a cabinet submission containing Viner's' rationale:

> Mr Viner said the reason for the tightening of the work test which determines eligibility for unemployment benefits was not designed simply to save tax-payers money. In fact, he did not know how much money the new measures would save. They were he said a result of community pressure to remove benefits from those who refused to make "reasonable efforts" to find work or who refused "suitable work" or to eliminate those who simply wanted to do nothing. (**The Advertiser**, 7/7/1979)

Perhaps the most significant battle fought during the `dole bludger' war was that pursued by the Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACOA) over Viner's 1979 work test changes. Signs of a dispute emerged in 1977 with ACOA's submission to the Norgard inquiry. The submission argued that CES's role as a job finding agency was being hampered by its responsibility for administration of the work test during times when staffing levels and resources for staff training were being curtailed, and when increasingly scarce job vacancies were being made even more difficult to obtain as the CES developed its reputation as `the Dole Office.' Employers were being antagonised by having to interview the many people sent to apply for vacancies for which they were only marginally qualified or not qualified at all (**The Age**, 6/13/1977).

Completed in June 1977 but not presented until May, 1978, Norgard's `**Review of the Commonwealth Employment Service**' first term of reference read `(1) The review should address itself to an examination of the objectives and functions of the CES (including its role vis-a-vis unemployment benefit) in the light of the significantly changed environment in which it now has to operate and the current and prospective demands for its services.'

The review was `naturally anxious to establish the attitudes of CES clients to the service they receive. Unfortunately, because of the time factor and difficult communication problems, the review was able to have only limited discussion on job seeker's attitudes.' The review received 185 submissions from individual employers, employer groups, welfare organisations, trade unions, ethnic community groups, Federal and State Government Departments, the CES's ACOA, and other interested organisations. The vast majority of those argued that the work testing function interfered with the CES's job placement role. The Review agreed that as far as the CES was concerned it would be advantageous to this job placement function to do away with work testing altogether, but could not recommend such a course of action:

> There would be maximum advantage to the functions, performance and image of the CES in the Labour Market under this option. In the minds of the unemployed the present confusion of the CES role would be dispelled. The CES would be the place to go for a job, DSS for benefit. Separation of the respective roles would enable the CES staff more adequately to identify and pursue their objectives. Employer confidence in the CES would rise because it would be known that only genuine job seekers would be referred and vacancies would not be used as a means to work test claimants. Many employer comments to the review were along the lines that the CES screens potential employees very poorly and that many of those referred to them by the CES apparently do not want to work. Such a proposal would clearly present such difficulties to the DSS that, unless an independent work test could be devised, the concept of unemployment benefit would have to be rethought. The major problems would be for the Director - General to satisfy himself that a claimant had taken reasonable steps to obtain work and for the claimant personally to present an income statement to DSS as an indication that he is not at work, which the review understands to be one of the reasons for fortnightly presentation of statements. The review concluded that although this option was the most attractive for the CES it was impractical within the present social security framework. (p.31)

The Norgard review recommended that work testing effort be substantially reduced by shifting responsibility to the DSS for the receipt of income statements (the document submitted by a claimant indicating any changes in circumstances). The CES would continue to interview clients and to report to the DSS particulars of anyone considered to be work-shy:

> The review emphasises that the CES and the DSS are offering essentially different services to the public and it is therefore not illogical that these services should be offered independently, particularly if it is thought that the attempt to offer them together confuses the objectives of the employment service. (p.33)

Apart from these detailed observations and recommendations about the administration of unemployment benefit, Norgard found the CES to be:

> a 1946 model organisation trying to cope with 1977-style problems ...[By] trying to be all things to all people it fails to satisfy any client group...[and] has a "dole office" image. (p. 5)

Norgard stabbed indirectly at `dole bludger bashing' when he commented: `How is it that with so many people looking for work employers can nevertheless ask `where are all the unemployed' (p.7)? Norgard probably knew what would happen to his report which recommended a substantial increase in allocated resources when he cynically discussed leaving the CES as it was as an option of proceeding into the 1980's:

> Such an approach would not require much extra funding beyond the $47 million (excluding premises costs) the CES costs today. The CES would continue to give the services it now gives, with which a few clients are apparently content, but it would also continue to attract valid criticisms from many employers and job seekers and would continue to deal with the lower echelons of the labour market. (p .9)

Norgard recommended removal of work testing from the CES, increased performance control of CES offices, a computerised job matching service, counselling and career services and expansion in quality and quantity of staff and premises.

Violence in the Dole Queue

CES officers were beginning to feel the effects of their public image through direct confrontation with claimants. The problem of declining resources for staff training became manifest in violence. Officers with little experience in handling clients and filling out forms upon which people's livelihoods were dependent became subjected to the full brunt of frustration from clients. In July, the **The Age** (7/29/1977) reported CES staff complaints that the incredible work load was leading to `cheque delays, turning some clients to crime and suicide'. Violence directed at front line officers was becoming a problem:

> Australia's increasing unemployment problem is erupting into dole queue violence. The position has become so serious that a team of Social Security investigators is touring throughout the land to compile a report. In Canberra, a senior officer in the Department of Social Security said one of the problems was

> the inexperience of some staff members including a few who had only just left school. "If there is any trouble because of a form filled in wrongly or a dubious claim, they simply don't have the tact to handle the people they are dealing with. This can lead to exasperation among people who genuinely need help and need it quickly." The Queensland secretary of the Administrative and Clerical officers' Association (ACOA), Mr Greg fowler, said in Brisbane that the problem had snowballed recently. "But it is a very hard one to solve. We have to look after our members and short of putting them in wire cages to hold off the hysteria of many unemployed people, what can we do?" (**The Australian**, 7/30/1977)

That same day, **The Age's** editorial commented about the reported violence as being the tip of an iceberg. **The Age** argued that a strange new conception of the Australian state was manifest in the violence. The state was appearing to be something other than the community of social interests it had long stood to be. The fact that Australians were physically assaulting government workers meant that a strange split was occurring in the social fabric:

> It runs contrary to the national image. Aussies bashing Aussies over the counter as a daily event just does not seem real. (**The Age**, 7/30/1977)

That these events seemed an absurdity to **The Age**'s editor, reflected emergence of strange contradictions in the lives of public servants. Their allegiance was to the state, and ergo to the public, but what that really meant when forced to apply work testing was having to take a moral position in deciding who was and who was not a `dole bludger' and therefore the very thing that they were meant to be protecting `society' from. State personnel began to question exactly what the society was that they were serving.

During August 1977, recommendations from a DSS report on dole queue violence, including the erection of barriers in their Melbourne office, were being considered by cabinet. Although the Department thought that the need for protection had passed (**The Sydney Morning Herald**, 8/9/1977), violence in and around government offices relating to unemployment continued. L. J. Daniels, The DSS Director-General issued a memorandum in late August to CES officers to the effect that they were hereby officially authorised to defend themselves:

> Where a person is causing an unacceptable disturbance in a departmental office and refuses to cease, the police may be called at the discretion of the officer-in-charge to remove him. Should the situation get out of hand before the police arrive, staff may use such force as is necessary to secure the offender's eviction.

> Should an assault actually occur, or be immanent, an officer is entitled to use such force as is reasonable to defend himself or to prevent an assailant assaulting others. (**The Herald**, 9/1/77).

In February of the following year a 24 year old woman from St Kilda was fined for using indecent language and for smashing a glass partition in a DSS office with a steel ashtray (**The Age**, 2/22/1978). In September, 1978 an 18 year old was arrested for `threatening to blow up a building or shoot a politician' in the Melbourne office of the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations (**The Age**, 9/20/1978). DSS and CES officers responsible for the administration of work testing felt as though they were under siege, and by 1979 adopted such an argument to support their strike for higher staff ceilings (**The Age**, 9/26/1979; **The Daily Telegraph**, 8/11/1979).

Ideology and its intersection with the work process in the CES

> The philosophy of the CES people is that their job was to operate as a job referral agency. This is undercut by their relationship with the income support system, in particular the policing role ... If you said to the CES membership "what is it that you need the government to do?", they would say "create fuckin' jobs! We want a great big job creation program because our bloody lives have no meaning unless we've got somewhere to send these poor bastards." ... The rationale for an employment service receives such a battering in a recessed labour market. Obviously your purpose in life is not to register applicants. Many of the labour market programs they've got to operate are O.K., you **can** give subsidized job programs as jobs, you **can** sensibly train people and increase their job skills. But when there aren't any real jobs available, what the hell is the organisation for? What is the purpose of these people's lives? I detect that is **still** a strong theme informing CES member's sense of work. (Bunn, **Interview**, 3/25/1992)

In 1977, an industrial dispute over staffing levels, particularly in the Commonwealth Employment Service in Victoria, led to establishment of a mechanism whereby ACOA would represent public service staff to consider `structural and organisational changes' arising from `new initiatives that impact on their working conditions' (ACOA, 10/11/1979a:1). Throughout 1977-1979, changes to work test procedures that involved increasing the work load of officers continued to be implemented without involving ACOA in discussions of the staffing levels needed to implement government policy or on how the work process would be changed to accommodate new work test tasks. Perhaps the most serious in terms of increased work load for CES as well as DSS officers was the introduction in 1979 of pre-grant interviews for UB.[8] In addition, officers had to observe the requirement to collect from and check names of employers to which the client had applied for work. The Federal Secretary of ACOA, Brian Head sent a letter to the Director-General of Social Services in July of 1979, formally protesting recent work test changes:

> For some time now ACOA members in Victoria have expressed dissatisfaction with the operation of the consultative mechanism. The major problem relates to the fact that most major decisions which affect staffing are made by the Department at Central Office level. This means there is very little opportunity for genuine pre-decisional consultation as envisaged by the Arbitrator at the time of settlement. (ACOA, 10/11/1979a:3)

Head's October '79 news brief (ACOA, 10/11/1979a:3) also spelled out the terms of bans that ACOA would apply if their demands for staff increases, word load reduction and work test rationalisation were not met:

(i) No application of 12 weeks postponement provisions under the revised UB guide-lines, the old provisions still apply.
(ii) No examination of SU19Bs in regard to employers contacted.
(iii) No judgement decisions based on accommodation costs involved in a beneficiary being required to move to a new location to accept employment.
(iv) No spouse interviews of applicants for Sickness benefits. No contact with Medical practitioners in relation to nature of illness.
(v) No pre-grant interviews by our members to applicants for Supporting Parents or Widows Pension.
(vi) No home interviews by our members to applicants for Supporting Parents or Widows Pension.
(vii) No personal interviews by our members for 3 monthly review purposes for U. B. beneficiaries

Threats of work test bans were the result of contradictions in CES and DSS worker roles that had been intensifying ever since unemployment began to rise in the early 1970's. As an article published in **Australian Social Welfare** put it, ACOA members felt themselves to be `meat in the sandwich' (ACOA, 1979:1). They were under pressure from clients, UWUs, welfare advocacy groups, and their own consciousness of their social roles to provide compassionate, fair and speedy service to the rising tide of unemployed workers. They were under pressure from the government of the day to treat all applicants as potentially work-shy without any extension of resources to adequately perform associated increased functions. For CES workers, they were under pressure from employers and their own sense of structural role to act as an effective employment agency, referring qualified workers to jobs and decent jobs to `workers'.

While ACOA members were certainly under pressure to perform contradictory roles in terms of their explicit organisational functions, the development of official and overt anti-government political sentiment involved a major departure from traditional conceptions of public service political neutrality. Caiden's (1964) historical study of public service unions shows them to have been generally politically quiescent throughout the twentieth century. The only major post-war events to the date of Caiden's study were ACOA's support of the Labor Party during the 1961 and 1963 elections. Then ACOA was courting the Labor party's commitment to improve wage conditions, not necessarily to align themselves with its overall ideological directions (Caiden, 1964:311).

The experience of the early to mid-nineteen seventies and particularly Whitlam's dismissal from office in 1975, energised the Labor sympathetic faction of ACOA to develop specifically ideologically aligned blocs within the union. Throughout the 1970's, Power in the ACOA executive swung between left and right factions (Dickenson, 1980: 21). By 1979, The ACOA Federal and Victorian executive committees were overwhelmingly ideologically aligned with Hayden's Labor Party left. By 1979, according to David Bunn (1992), so was `the politics and the sociology of the general membership.'

Preparation for the Ban was underway at least as early as January, 1979 when the Federal executive of ACOA wrote to ACOA's Victorian Section committee soliciting comment on current staffing ceilings. In his reply, Brian Head listed various aspects of work load which had been building up since mid-1978. Head ended his letter implying that the politically explosive nature of UBs might act as a lever to relieve their worsening work conditions which, among other things, involved catching the brunt of public criticism for DSS service delivery:

> You will realise the potentially politically explosive nature of our operations and we believe that while some gains have been made, the uncertainty of the future, excessive demands combined with a continually increasing workload is affecting what little morale is left among operational staff. The section committee believes that the level of responsibility which has to be accepted by members (mainly in the benefit area) is inconsistent with their experience and subsequently leads to unfair and unjustified criticisms of our members. You will

> be acutely aware that the Social Security Department is fair game for all and sundry but receives very little management or government support when criticism is rampant. If the Department is to survive, a halt must be taken on new initiatives while intensive training is undertaken. (ACOA, 3/20/1979)

By July, a discussion paper prepared by ACOA for distribution to its members had been prepared. The paper not only pointed out the obvious deterioration of working conditions experienced as a result of work test changes, but also urged support for the adoption of an anti-government political position. The discussion paper outlined broadly what the work test was for and that major increases in intensity and number of work test requirements had been underway since 1976. Ability to administer The Act[9] and provide service to employer and worker client groups was being undermined. The paper used Alan Jordan's and Graeme Brewer's work to draw a distinctive line between interests of `the government' and those of `public servants':

> In proposing these changes, the government is conveniently ignoring the fact that unemployment will only reduce with the creation of a large number of jobs. Tightening dole payments only increases suffering amongst those already out of work. This discussion paper argues that A.C.O.A. cannot sanction the application of the work test, as it is a totally inappropriate unemployment policy that can in no way improve the employment situation. It adversely affects unemployed people, the CES and its staff. These [recent] changes have gone hand in hand with charges from politicians and the media of massive abuse of the UB system. Their charges simply do not stand up to the facts. Despite a significant increase in the number of Social Security field officers, only about 0.05% of unemployment beneficiaries are convicted of fraudulently claiming benefits. Public servants are in the unique position of dealing with unemployment. The true situation is, of course, rather different from that which the government is pushing. As such, ACOA members must resist the forthcoming changes to the work test and demand repeal of sections 107 and 120 (work test and suspension of benefits) of the Social Services Act. The fact is that there are high levels of unemployment because there are not enough jobs for all those who want to work. To blame the victims of the present economic recession (i.e. the unemployed), as prominent members of the government and the media regularly do, is totally inappropriate and indicative of a lack of appreciation and sensitivity to the real situation. (ACOA, 7/3/1979: 16-19)

On the 30th of July The Victorian Branch of ACOA wrote to their federal executive seeking discussion of the proposed work test changes with CES management. On the 27th of August, Paul Munro met with Ian Viner to discuss ACOA action. Munroe's brief for that meeting set out the position CES management had taken in relation to ACOA's claims. In short, that position was a denial of the predictions and reality of deteriorating work conditions that ACOA was claiming. CES Management were clearly aligned with Viner's position that: no staff increases were necessary; reports of violence from beneficiaries coming from local Employment Office Managers would suffice as evidence of that violence; and there was no evidence to suggest that additional resources for officer training were needed as existing mechanisms for appropriate officer training were under-utilised (ACOA, 8/24/79). Viner reiterated these points at his meeting with Munro and:

> noted that the works test already in existence was already being applied in different ways in different areas. There was some unevenness in application. The judgement had been made that for implementation of the works test no additional resources are required (ACOA, 8/28/1979).

Viner's position was predictably consonant with the Fraser governments expenditure reduction program being conducted by the `Razor Gang'. It was considered part of the responsibility of public servants to deal with aggression arising from government policies. Monroe reported that:

> he regarded it as being a part of Government work that where adverse decisions have to be made in relation to particular individuals, there may be incidents of violence (ACOA, 8/28/1979).

In other words, public servants were to be obedient to the government in power and that that government represented the **public** those servants were to serve. It became clear that ACOA membership would be bullied if they continued with their plans for a ban. Six months later and after the bans were in place, Bunn reported that he `knew of at least two cases where groups of staff members were told to crack down on the unemployed or face disciplinary action' (**The Age**, 2/18/1980).

Monroe became concerned that it might be difficult to align member's interests in their own working conditions with an alternative view of public service consciousness. Guerilla tactics sabotaging the work test process may prove to be easier to pursue than mobilization of widespread support:

> In relation to the question of where we go from here, it appears desirable to establish with some accuracy the attitudes of members employed in CES and DSS offices. Federal executive has authorised a ban being placed upon application of the works test. For my part I have reservations as to the utility of a ban at this particular point in time. The objective of the ban must surely be to focus adverse public opinion on the works test. I doubt whether we can couch the application of the bans in the form which identifies an industrial objective. If that is the case then it would seem desirable to investigate alternative means of achieving the objectives identified by staff in the areas concerned. To the extent that modification of the works test is an objective in itself, then it is necessary

> that the Association should be provided with a wider range of information as to the hardship which is being imposed as a result of the application of the works test. If the Minister's observation that there is a failure to apply the current works test is accurate, then maintenance of a course of passive resistance rather than overt industrial action would appear appropriate. (ACOA, 8/28/1979)

Clearly most of the Victorian membership were feeling like `the meat in the sandwich' and supported union imperatives that directly affected their work process. However, they were not as cohesive in their response to the more politically polemic of ACOA's positions. Nevertheless, a leaflet containing the text of the above **Impact** article was produced and distributed. Another and much shorter leaflet produced by The Public Service Action Group (a section of The ACT Branch of ACOA's radical Left) was distributed along with the ACT Unemployed Workers Union pamphlet `CAN YOU PASS THE WORK TEST?', which clearly placed CES and DSS workers in opposition to a Fraser government depicted as a vulture living off the backs of the unemployed (Public Service Action Group, 1979).

In November, 1979, CES, DSS, and CYSS workers joined unemployed people (probably UWU members) to form an Anti Work-Test Committee. On the 17th of November, the 20 member strong Committee led an estimated 100 protesters in a rally staged at a Melbourne swimming pool being opened by Victoria's Education Minister Mr Hunt. One member of the group argued that many of the members of the Anti Work-test Committee were:

> willing to put their jobs on the line. The level of frustration is so high they are prepared to take the risk. Departmental staff are being compelled to do the hatchet work for a government more concerned with neat statistics than the needs of human beings.(**The Sun-Pictorial**, 11/17/1979)

Although support for the bans and their overtly political character had gained ground and was received from a majority of Victorian CES and DSS workers, the minority was quite large, particularly in respect to the specific issue of taking a position opposing the government of the day. One CES officer located in Kempsy, a popular mid-northern New South Wales Coastal beach area, made a protest in a letter to the editor of the Administrative & Clerical Officers Journal that was probably representative of dissenting views:

> I have read with interest your Bulletin concerning administration of the work test by staff of CES and DSS. Whilst I appreciate many of the activities pursued by the association in efforts to improve working conditions of members I must

> register resentment to your actions in this matter. Your Association together with Section committees of CES and DSS appears to be supporting an anti-Government irresponsible attitude. I am certain that the majority of members of the CES are prepared to administer the Work Test guide-lines in a fair and just manner. Indeed, it is their responsibility to do so. As a result, personnel will not be subjected to "hostility" from the unemployed. Far from seeing our role as "inhumane" and "punitive"' I welcome the opportunity to protect the Australian Tax-payer and the genuinely unemployed from abuse of the U. B. system by certain members of the community. Controls are inevitable and must be exercised where expenditure of public monies are involved. The alternative being of course an undesirable system which will become too costly to continue to assist the genuine claimant. It is considered the Association would do well to concentrate efforts on more pressing matters for which it was originally intended rather than attempting to shield members from performing an essential task. (Fowler, 11/13/1979)

Four other rank and file ACOA CES officers **did** believe that their union was a legitimate vehicle for the expression of a critical consciousness that **should** be tied to their positions as public servants:

> The concept of the work test dates at least to the poor laws of 16th Century England and has been an administrative feature of unemployment benefits in Australia since 1944. The Media and Politicians have propagated the myth of the "dole bludger" and have convinced the public that a large majority of the unemployed are "dole cheats" or "dole bludgers" living a life of luxury at the expense of the Tax-payer. This campaign has had the effect of stigmatising the whole of the unemployed work force. Our experience as CES officers has shown us that many people are reluctant to register for work and unemployment benefits because of the perceived stigma attached to being unemployed. We believe the government's aims are 1. reduce expenditure on UB, 2. reduce the unemployment figures - as they are an embarrassment to the government, 3. further propagation of the "dole bludger" myth placing the blame for the current high level of unemployment on the unemployed themselves as a cover-up for the government's lack of a solution to the problem. Although the new procedures for administering U. B. directly affect only members in the CES and DSS, we feel that the contradictions involved, given that we are public servants, committed to the concept of serving the public, raise broader issues for all public servants to consider, 1. Is our prime concern to administer Government policies irrespective of their effects on the people that we are supposed to be serving (i. e. the public)? 2. As trade unionists should we be concerned with the effects of Government Policy on fellow workers? 3. Do we have the right, when Government policies are in direct opposition to our conscience, to attempt to alleviate the consequences of that policy? 4. Do we as public servants have the right to participate in policy formulation, given that we are the ones who are eventually called upon to implement it and to bear the consequences of it. (Bacon et. al., 11/13/1979)

ACOA's bans on work testing were lifted in mid-1980 when the consultative mechanism was strengthened and promises of staff increases made. However, according to several sources, the bans continued to operate covertly for at least another

3 years. The benign public service was no longer benign and Fraser found himself face to face with the ghost of Whitlam, by now retired from politics. Ten years later, the Public Service Union (PSU, formerly ACOA), found itself in defiance of a Labor government.

PSU and the Active Employment Strategy

One writer quoted in the July 1979 ACOA Bulletin wrote:

> There is no evidence that welfare benefits of themselves cause absence from work due to `work shyness'; there is some positive evidence to show that this effect does not occur, and that apparent incidence of `work shyness' are, in fact a manifestation of social disability'. (ACOA, 7/3/1979)

The Active Employment Strategy began phased introduction in January 1990 with an `activity test' to replace the work test and address `social disability'. The Activity test involved an expansion of work testing to include willingness to undertake labour market related training. By May 1990, The Department of Employment Education and Training began its approach to the PSU with an outline of the proposed full restructuring of unemployment benefits to come into effect on July 1st, 1991. Restructuring included introduction of New Start `contracts' which required the unemployed person, to sign an agreement on what specific strategies would be pursued to obtain a job. The outline included a desire for a change in `the culture' of CES (which PSU's **Public Profile** criticised as an `internal propaganda blitz' (Clarke, 1991)).

The change sought was to intensify focus on long term unemployed which, the outline asserted, was previously weak due to the difficulty of placing these people in employment. This intensified focus was to be energised with a statutorily backed power to terminate a beneficiary's entitlement on the grounds of work test failure (Australia, Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1990a). The first of a series of `AES Updates' was distributed in August 1990 `to keep staff up to date with the development of the Active Employment Strategy, developed to implement labour market reforms announced by the Government in February.'(Australia, Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1990b). One PSU member in the CES responded to the AES proposals with an argument that AES was an ideological device that institutionalised the figure of the `pathological unemployed' as a cover-up for the more alarming notion of permanent long-term unemployment. Solutions sought in a clinical paradigm were seen as constructing legitimacy for an active/passive dichotomy in understanding ranges of solutions to long term unemployment (PSU Member, 1990).

On the 13th of September, 1990, Lindsey Stewart from the PSU met with ACOSS to discuss a strategy for addressing the proposed AES measures. The PSU brought its concerns about the AES to the ACTU executive which, in November 1990 resolved that:

> The ACTU executive expresses its concern at the adequacy of labour market training places in the context of the growing inability of the CES and other service providers to place the growing number of unemployed in a shrinking labour market. The ACTU executive believes on the evidence before it that the Active Employment Strategy will not achieve its objectives and will cause hardship to many unemployed. The executive resolves to seek government re-assessment of the programme in the light of the labour market down turn (Public Service Union, New South Wales Branch, 1991)

PSU's concern over the work test were reminiscent of ACOA's 10 years earlier. The simple message was that the unemployed are not sick, the economy is. New Start contracts and activity testing in general were still seen as fruitless exercises in an flat labour market.[10]

By May 1991, PSU's National Executive had failed to obtain abolition of the Newstart agreements. The Newstart agreements or contracts were opposed by the PSU due to prospects of igniting antagonism from both unemployed and employer client groups. A May 1991 PSU Bulletin asked members to vote on resolutions demanding training for the new scheme, increases in staffing levels, maintenance of levels of authority for those conducting Newstart interviews and most importantly a ban on the **compulsory** drawing of contracts:

> This meeting of PSU members endorses those AES proposals which would increase the employment opportunities for our clients, but to ban any proposed activity testing regime which includes any compulsory contract/agreement as we feel that this would be an unnecessary and intrusive element of our service delivery to clients. Instead we support the development of a genuine client centred service which reflects real client needs. (PSU, National Executive Bulletin, May 1991)

As with the 1979/1980 work test bans, the resolutions requesting training, staffing and authority support received widespread acclamation. However, the motion suggesting a ban on implementation of work test agreements was passed with a narrow national margin, 1011 in favour of the motion and 843 in opposition. The motion was defeated outright in Queensland and South Australia (PSU, National Executive, 5/30/1991).

David Bunn from the PSU and Martin Furguson from ACTU met with Ministers Dawkins and Balwin as well as Senator Richardson's (Minister for Social Security) Parliamentary Secretary, Con Sciacca on the 29th of May, 1991 to discuss the AES and in particular the Activity Agreements. Bunn was able to secure assurance that staffing and training needs would be met but could gain concessions on the compulsory nature of the agreements.

Nevertheless, the PSU did manage to get the Ministers to agree that no loss of income would ensue for `procedural reasons'. The issue at stake was that a person should refuse a job or a training place before benefit would be terminated., rather than being terminated, on the basis of suspicion that a job or course wouldn't be taken if one were offered. (PSU, National Executive, 6/6/1991). DEET formally responded to the PSU's May motions by mid June. In a letter Dated 17th of June, a senior DEET officer argued that the compulsory nature of the activity test contracts were for the client's own good to bring them from their pathologically inert condition:

> Activity testing is essentially a process to ensure that clients meet their obligations under their agreements and otherwise satisfy certain statutory conditions for receipt of Government-paid allowances. Similar arrangements apply in many other western countries. Such policies recognise that many people who have been out of the workforce over a long period of time are severely discouraged by their experience of failure to find a job and accordingly lose both the drive to continue job search and the capacity to present themselves as attractive employment candidates to prospective employers. In most such cases special measures are required of both the employment service clients to break out of the vicious cycle created by long term unemployment. The compulsory nature of agreements and their use in activity testing is in many cases fundamental to the success of such arrangements where dispirited long term unemployed clients need both assistance and strong incentives to change their lot. It is therefore in the interests of clients for agreements and activity testing to be compulsory, even though some clients may not recognise that. It is also in the interests of society that Governments take action to give such people both the opportunity and a strong incentive to return to a productive participative role in the work place. (Australia, Department of Employment Education and Training, 6/17/1991:3)

The letter continued with an ultimatum:

> I ask you to accept that the Department cannot accept National Motion One and that, if it is not recinded by July 1991, we will have no option but to notify a dispute to the Industrial Relations Commission and to seek urgent action by the Commission to resolve the issue. If, however, the motion is recinded then, DEET will agree to revise the current agreement and activity testing guide-lines to give even greater emphasis than at present to the need for officers to approach the negotiation of agreements and the conduct of activity testing with sensitivity to both the circumstances of the client and the prevailing difficulties of the local labour market. (Australia, Department of Employment Education and Training, 6/17/1991)

The PSU responded by replacing their proposed ban with the proposal that a `code of ethics' be adopted for use by CES employees when applying activity tests. The vote to adopt the `code of ethics' was even closer than the vote for the proposed ban with 812 in favour and 810 against. Once again, majorities in Queensland and South Australian Branches were against the code of conduct (PSU, National Industrial Office, 7/15/1991). The code specified:

1. The contents of Newstart agreements will be kept as simple as possible.
2. Activities proposed for inclusion in the agreement will be confined to reasonable job search activities e.g. checking newspapers or participation in available labour market programs.
3. Clients have the right to the integrity of their minds and bodies. Although activities involving personal health, appearance and social behaviour can form part of employment counselling these matters should not be included in the agreement.
4. Activity testing of Newstart clients against program places will only occur if appropriate labour market programs are available.
5. Training and paid work experience will only be included in an agreement where client expresses an interests in those activities.
6. Employer contact certificates will not be included in the agreement because these certificates stigmatises the unemployed and rely on subjective judgements by employers. (Public Sector Union, National Industrial Office, 7/29/1991:3)

PSU's opposition to Newstart also involved production of a newsletter distributed to UB beneficiaries outlining the process of Newstart interviews and agreements (contracts) (Public Sector Union, Victorian Branch, 6/1991). In addition, PSU participated with ACOSS, VCOSS, the Victorian Trades Hall Council and the

ACTU in launching the `Jobs and Justice Campaign' as well as lobbying the government for changes both to legislation and to operating instructions.

One Queensland PSU member resented the National executive's position so much that he was motivated to write a letter to David Bunn, (PSU Assistant National Secretary):

> The bulletin outlined a number of areas of concern:
> **The [Newstart] agreements are an unnecessary imposition on the unemployed.**
> Now this is a real laugh. Is the PSU of the opinion that the unemployed should not attempt to obtain work but sit back and collect their benefits each fortnight. I know many unemployed people who would be offended by this statement.
>
> **IT [AES] reinforces attitudes towards the unemployed that persist among many members of the community.**
>
> If the majority of the community found out that the PSU is apparently giving its support to the unemployed not trying to be re-employed, their attitudes would only deepen.
>
> **It will have a negative effect on the confidence and self-image of many unemployed.**
> Clearly, the only ones that this will affect is those so called "dole bludgers"
>
> **It Creates a more stressful environment for clients and members in the CES.**
> At Last, a reason for the PSU to be concerned. But wouldn't the PSU effort be more positively employed in looking at the internal workings of the system within CES to ensure that the stress level of its members is controlled, not the overall concept of the program? (Catling, 7/18/1991:1-2)

It was unknown at the time of writing wether or not and to what extent the code of ethics was adopted in practice by PSU membership. Nor was it known to what extent the code was able to successfully de-emphasise the element of compulsion involved in the contract agreements. However, given the consistent upswing in unemployment in Australia since 1990, it seems likely that the agreements are still a bone of contention between the politically active PSU executive and conservative elements of the membership and cabinet that they serve.

Conclusion

Throughout the 1970's and 1980's, increasing assertion of the disciplinary state on civil society produced resistances from those committed to amelioration of conditions associated with structural unemployment. The figure of the `dole bludger' was initially constituted in a discourse that could not comprehend nor countenance the motivation crisis that rising unemployment threatened. `Bludgers cheating on their mates' became a disciplinary device to simultaneously buttress the walls defining civil society as an `industrial community' and to address a developing legitimation crisis of the welfare state.

Resistances to the epitome of the `dole bludger' and to attempts at solving legitimacy crises with the very definition of working class boundaries resulted in the production of a new social subject to be brought into a new clinical `citizenship disciplinary' regime. Critics fought long and hard to improve their much maligned constituencies, but were unable to shift the tide of conservatism that swept the more radical of their agendas into political oblivion. The institutionalised welfare sector did the leg work of knowledge production within which the `dole bludger' was deconstructed. Unemployed workers' unions dramatically portrayed that the `industrial community' was exorcising itself through `dole bludger' discipline. State personnel employed on disciplinary tasks rejected the divisions that their work process placed between them and jobless Australians.

The stage was set to explore the potential of legitimate non-work to liberate workers from the anti-worker within them, when the disciplinary regime continued in favour of the buttressing labour market identities. The pathologically unemployed subject was thrown up in the place of the `dole bludger'. This event addressed both humanistic concerns about `rough justice' and conservative concerns about flagging labour force attachment. The disciplinary state absorbed its critiques and grew in potency from their energy.

End Notes

1. Benn was coordinator of the Brotherhood of St Lawrence's Family Centre Project.

2. Michelle Grattan had been writing for Melbourne's **The Age** from 1976 through to at least 1990 in support of UB claimant rights. Her articles included: The Age

10/22/1976, 7/23/1977, 3/1/1979, 3/7/1979, 2/14/1981, 10/30/1981, 6/20/1986, 4/11/1987, 2/20/1990. Grattan remained consistently suspicious of state attempts to discipline the unemployed back to work and to discipline employed `workers' as to their labour market duties.

3. Director of the Social Policy and Research Centre at the Brotherhood of St Laurence

4. This name was selected to protect the informant. Although there is little in the following that is likely to damage the informant in any conceivable way, a promise was given that identifying information would not be revealed.

5. This is a pseudonym for a local UWU activist.

6. This is a pseudonym for one of Greenhills' key Managers.

7. Job Search allowance and New Start benefit replaced UB in June 1991.

8. The Client would have to be interviewed by both DSS officers and CES officers to determine willingness to work, prior to the processing of an application for UB.

9. Social Services Act, 1947.

10. A New South Wales staff bulletin commented:

> The requirement of CES work/Activity testing faces a new difficulty in the current labour market in that "reasonable steps" are difficult to assess in a recession period - and at any time they are capable of subjective interpretation. The proposed use of Work Effort Certificates by CES may create antipathy amongst employers as has already been experienced in DSS. In any event, in the current economic context this would place an unfair strain on our clients. A prima facie failure of the works test places the CES staff in a position where they have no discretion under the Social Security Act other than to cancel benefits. This is clearly a blurring of the different roles of CES and DSS. It is apparent that these issues put AES in conflict with Minister Balwin's stated reasons for the implementation of the strategy. In a speech to ACOSS in October, 1990, he stated "The new approach is not about laying down the law to the unemployed. Rather it is about successful case management, and as far as possible working to an agreed position with the unemployed. (PSU, New South Wales Branch, 1991)

Chapter 10: Conclusion

Summary

Almost 100 years after Joseph Creer opened the Doors of Australia's first Labour Bureau in Sydney, Unemployment Benefit was split and renamed Job Search Allowance and New Start. Over that period three disciplinary regimes emerged in response to shifts and turns in perceived motivation crises. Workers questioned the labour market's capacity to `naturally' maintain the commodity form (social interaction mediated by money and things) as an organising principle in society. Social relations of liberal governance produced, in varying forms, figures of idlers, loafers and layabouts to be disciplined and to serve as disciplining devices to buttress the identity of `worker'. World wide recessions were, in Offe's (1984) terms, economic system crises that placed new demands socio-cultural steering mechanisms to address emergent motivation crises. When old regimes were incapable of handling the task of social integration around the commodity form, new regimes emerged, built on top of older disciplinary forms.

**`Bourgeois benevolence'** involved an energetic establishment of liberal ideals of waged workers. Still steeped in Australia's colonial legacy of rugged individualism, nineteenth century benefactors erected an interesting array of devices to distinguish real `workers' from loafers. Loafers were the carriers of an essential evil of propensity to idleness that threatened contamination. Work test techniques were aimed directly at containing the spread of this disease. Manifestations of contagion included drunkenness, poor living conditions and other maladies that a respectable working class should have been able to rise above. Techniques of work testing varied considerably. They ranged from inspection of police reports to forced manual labour at the premises of urban benevolent institutions as well as country labour camps.

By making the display of `good worker' characteristics a prerequisite for receiving poverty relief, benevolenteers attempted to enact a conception of a desirable society, whereby workers would see themselves as liberal individuals, appropriately contracting as free agents with equally free employers. Appropriate behaviour for a civil male worker included display of suitable patriarchal familial responsibility, temperance, and most of all, a willingness to do **anything** including stone-breaking and wood-chopping for support.

Conclusion

The extent to which recipients were actually convinced that ideas of responsible living should be adopted is debatable and probably unanswerable. However, the counter-identity to the responsible worker, the `loafer pure and simple', was erected as a reason for making applicants do things that made them responsible. It is not suggested that vagrancy was a non-event, nor even that `Larikin' forms of resistance to bourgeois hegemony did not exist. Rather, two idealizations, responsible `workers' on one hand and `loafers' on the other, were normatively constituted identities in a disciplinary discourse. Disciplinary effects were directed not only at workers actually encountering benevolent personnel, but also at those knowing that if they lost their jobs, they would have to prove, and with some difficulty, that they were not `loafers.'

Discipline enacted through work testing also aimed at reinvigorating a sense of productive worth in `workers' who might otherwise slip into the `loafer class'. Leongatha was not established as a rural skills teaching unit. Rather, it separated off from potential contagion -- workers who had passed a work test at Charity Organisation Society premises in Melbourne. The Charity Organisation sent workers to the bush in order to maintain, to re-invigorate, to reform, potential sinners. Reverend Jackson's Labour House in Sydney was explicitly designed along panopticon lines. Inmates had to work all day under the watchful eye of an overseer. They had to retire at night in `bedrooms' that had one wall open to the chapel. A large cross in view of men in each room, kept a silent eye on inmates. God (or at least the Church of England) enacted a gaze of virtuous and productive behaviour. The fact that police were empowered to take away ration cards from those convicted or even suspected of civil crimes such as drunkenness or alcoholism, is evidence of enactment of cultural discipline. The gaze effected by work testing was a strategy of `normalization' (Hewitt, 1992: 158) directed at people within the grasp of benevolent institutions and directed at `workers' in general - a normalization of the bodies of inmates, and a normalization of `society'.

Here we encountered construction of `idealized' people in methods of poverty relief that were partly disciplinary by virtue of distinctions made in the process of enacting idealizations. Further, discipline was enacted to produce an independently contracting civil worker. The key difference between work testing accomplished by benevolenteers and that accomplished by government personnel was that the legitimacy of the act of work testing was **conceivable by workers as in their own interests when accomplished by a government agency**. The first government labour bureau (`the bureau') was established in 1892 in Sydney and was the beginning (though incomplete) of a major departure in discipline.

The bureau's primary function was to find workers for jobs and to find jobs for workers. It also handed out relief rations to families of unemployed workers. Initiation of bureau activities was ostensibly in workers' interests. The bureau was a positive response to organized and radical demands for expansion of job opportunities. However, in an admission from the bureau's director, we found that the primary purpose of the bureau was to tame radical demonstrations - a shift in focus of dissatisfaction with the extent of joblessness away from parliament.

By penalizing inappropriate behaviour with withdrawal of ration privileges, the bureau could make known to `workers' in general, that particular behaviours, such as a police conviction or refusal of a job offer considered suitable by the bureau, went against an institution trying to help them. Idealizations of `good worker' (morally responsible and independent) and `loafer' (reprehensible and dependent) were constituted and found their way into official categorization of applicants. `The state' directly entered the arena of `sustenance relief' during the early 1890's through labour bureaux. Disciplinary efforts were generally characterised here as **benevolent** because of the overt bourgeois influence in organisational personnel and surveillance techniques as well as absence of legislated `right' to assistance.

Bureau directors, through to at least 1912, explicitly recognised that loafers were a minority of applicants. However,the **idealization of loafer** when combined with an **idealization of a government** as beneficial to workers brought about an idea of community of employers and responsible workers partly known as responsible because they were not loafers. Unlike benevolenteers, the bureau was able to utilize information about prevalent labour market conditions to formulate their ideals of responsible workers. Knowledge of labour markets became part of the surveillance process. Disciplinary techniques were made more precise and calculable. A labour market was a lens through which loafers and workers could be known. Knowledge of labour markets was used to discipline workers to behaviours that would be suitable for participation in them.

These points are made here to make strong contrasts between methods of discipline achieved by work testing. All was not so simple. Absence of a legislated `right' to `benefit' continued to place the identity of `unemployed' as a negotiation simply between administrators and supplicants. The labour bureau was initially resented by workers as `pauperizing', as being akin to the charity received from benevolenteers. The disciplinary effect of being drawn into a community of abstract civil interests by being designated `unemployed' rather than `loafer' was absent.

Resistance to work test techniques should be seen in terms of the industrial relations scene at the time. The nineteenth century labour movement increasingly looked to the state to facilitate its goals, particularly following the failure of the 1890-91 strikes. A call for a `right to work' criticised the ability of `free' labour markets to deliver opportunity for expression of pride as workers. The state responded with limited job creation `works'[1] as well as, at least in New South Wales, a shifting of dissident workers, on a massive scale, into country areas to prospect for gold.

Although work test practices were explicitly aimed at `civilizing' workers, the type of resistance mounted indicated that an independently emerging `labourist' discourse was accomplishing similar ends. Ostracism of the `loafer' was symbolically enhanced with work test rituals which kept contestation of identities `loafer' and `unemployed' within boundaries defined by liberal ideals of the waged worker. The organised industrial and political left despised the figure of the `loafer' as much as did the benevolent right. The `loafer' represented a contamination of `right to work' ideals.

The political wing of the labour movement has been characterised as bourgeois or liberal in form because of its orientation to parliamentary rather than revolutionary reform. The union movement has also been characterised as `liberal' due to its emphasis on redistributive justice through the labour market rather than through state redistribution in the form of welfare receipts. It is plausible to argue that forms of poverty relief enacted during the late nineteenth century were specifically designed to enhance this trajectory.

Constitution of idlers, loafers and layabouts in disciplinary techniques was a way of buttressing a self-consciousness of legitimate labour force participation. Loafers were touted as incorrigible scourges. Loafers were an affront to dignified labour. Demonstrators would not tolerate them in their ranks. A former railways unionist, as head of the New South Wales Labour Bureau in the early 1900s, suggested that loafers, a category of bureau registrant, should be sent to loafer prisons of the style that Germany and Britain had adopted in the late nineteenth century. Loafers, made knowable through work testing, were a way of ensuring continuity in growth of attachment to fair distributive process achieved through labour markets. In Habermas' and Offe's terms, connection of the socio-cultural sub-system to the economic sub-system was enhanced with the figure of the loafer as someone that a decent worker would rather not be. Disciplinary partitioning effected a normative exorcism from `society' of an alien form. One of the Charity Organisation Society's rationales for having wood chopping as a work test was that it would keep loafers away, and would attract only real workers.

Work testing began to change in disciplinary effect as it became `constitutive of the whole of Australian society' as a result of changes in ideas of who was administering it and why. The Great depression had two effects on the bourgeois disciplinary regime. Firstly, the sheer quantity of jobless people overloaded administrative capacity to accomplish intensifications of civil society in places like Jackson's Labour House. There were attempts to organise self-supporting labour farms throughout Australia in the 1930s. However, these were relatively insignificant in comparison to the work tested forms of government relief provided through cash handouts, or through work relief. The Great Depression achieved a massive legitimacy for the notion of unemployment in Australia. Loafers were still constituted by police administering relief. They were also constituted in political discourse during legitimations of work-for-the dole projects. However, the more prevalent epitome was that of the discouraged worker.

Prevalent fears that a `loafers' paradise' would be established were included in reasons why Australia did not follow Britain's lead in the introduction of unemployment insurance in the early 1900s. Queensland's unemployment insurance scheme, developed in the 1920s, was a cautious step toward `right to benefit.' However, part of the political justification it received was that it would be heavily work tested and that only genuine workers would receive it. By the end of the depression, the loafer had all but disappeared from problems of idleness. In his place, the discouraged worker and youth in need of redemption, received attention from those influential enough to have appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security.

Conclusion

One aspect of motivation crises addressed during the Great Depression was similar to that during the 1890's in that radical dissent brought fears of large scale disaffection with the operation of free labour markets. As in the 1890's, work testing disciplined political dissent by literally shifting radicals to remote locations (which sometimes back-fired). Dissidents were also branded as loafers. Further, work testing continued to enact a set of behaviours that kept civil obedience aligned with access to available relief work.

A deeper fear held by administrators and politicians was that people would lose their will to work. A `right to work' was something that could be dealt with through a semi-planned economy. The commodity form as an organising principle was not seriously endangered with Keynsian principles coming to the fore during the nineteen thirties. Beveridge's (1944) **Full employment in a Free Society** contained much of the rationale being adopted in Australia for its blueprint of post-war reconstruction. Beveridge's understanding of full employment was to create the conditions for a community of interests around the commodity form that a `free' economy could not construct for itself. The experience of the working class was an inherently dividing one. A real democracy that would draw worker's interests to that of employers' would require state participation in `society' making:

> The greatest evil of unemployment is not physical but moral, not the want which it may bring, but the hatred and fear which it breeds ... To look to individual employers for maintenance of demand and full employment is absurd. These things are not in the power of employers. They must therefore be undertaken by the State, under the supervision and pressure of democracy, applied through the Parliament of men. (Beveridge, 1944: 16)

The state could and would mechanically produce a community that the market could not. The state would achieve linkage of economic and socio-cultural sub-systems in response to a motivation crisis generated by economic crisis. With people losing their commitment to material accumulation, the greater and more enduring threat was disaffection with the labour process. Beveridge understood this when he wrote in an earlier publication that an inappropriately organised system of unemployment benefits would induce a `social malingering.' Unemployment benefits should be supplied to help reduce `hatred and fear'. However, this should be done in a way that the dignity of work was not threatened. Legitimation of a social space wherein de-commodification, rather than re-commodification through an idealized community of interests, could occur would be a far greater danger to a system organised around the commodity form:

> The **main** danger of the present insurance scheme does not lie in the risk of encouraging men to prefer unemployment to work, in **individual malingering**. The main danger lies in another direction - **social malingering**. (Beveridge, 1931: 45)[emphasis added]

Unionists, academics, administrators, economists and politicians, constructed the discouraged worker in a new problem of idleness that sought to retrieve attachment to paid work. The Second World War largely solved the problem temporarily. Those not fighting were fully employed in war production. However, the experience of the depression highlighted the need to directly connect workers to an industrial community that would simultaneously reinforce the commodity form and recognise the legitimacy of **un**employment. Work tested unemployment benefits funded from general revenue achieved this.

The disciplinary regime characterised as `**industrial community**' involved regulation of the unemployed/loafer dichotomy by a congealed community represented in the state. The Curtin Labor government was successful in establishing a `right' to unemployment benefit, the legitimacy of which had been growing steadily at least since 1910. State administration of unemployment benefits accomplished a reconfiguration of disciplinary personnel **and** disciplinary effects. The essentially evil `loafer' had been almost completely displaced during the great depression but not extinguished completely. The potential loafer remained embedded in the logic of unemployment.

State administration of unemployment benefits created the possibility of `dole bludging'. Loafers as `dole bludgers' were not merely an irritating contaminate. They were a direct attack on working class identity. Loafing continued to represent `otherness'. That `otherness' was not merely a characteristic of a quizzical alien or an **individual malingerer**. `Dole bludgers' were cheating on their mates. They were **social malingerers.**

Added to the disciplinary capacity of rules and regulations to alter the behaviour of social security claimants was a capacity for those same rules and regulations to perform as definitions for those already in civil society to know themselves. The disciplinary potential of the `dole bludger' was far more advanced than the `loafer pure and simple' of `bourgeois benevolence'. `Workers' were effectively made to police themselves.

`Dole bludging' moved from its post-1944 latency to manifestation during the early 1970's. In 1971, dole bludgers were explicitly constituted by administering authorities in the bodies of `Surfies and Hippies'. Work testing was invigorated with a new project to protect society from what was perceived as an emergent `counter-culture'. The `counter-culture' was considered `counter' precisely because it was believed the commodity form was not a central organising principle in it.

Throughout the 1970's and early 1980's, the soul of the `dole bludger' was given residence in bodies of surf board riders, communal farmers, school leavers and commuters. Institutional disciplinary measures included increased physical and electronic surveillance and increased penalties for work test failure. The apparent motivational crisis, stimulated by the hegemony of the commodity form during the long post-war boom, was addressed with disciplinary techniques established twenty five years earlier. What began as an attempt to `reign in' a perceived dangerous diversion from labourist `working class interests', continued into a much wider steering of labour force participation. The figure of `dole bludger' as `hippie and surfie' was attached to school leavers and those living in, or wanting to move to remote communities. It was believed that unemployment benefits were stimulating a certain `stickiness' of labour. That is, labour mobility between urban areas and propensity to accept low wage jobs including part-time and casual work was eroding. The state could not legitimately roll back on its promise of social security in the form of unemployment benefits. However, as administrative rules governing access to benefits were not subject to a parliamentary process, these could be altered by caveat. `The state' used its position as an expression of general interests to make a working class enemy, `dole bludger', out of those unwilling to follow the state's objectives to stimulate the commodity form through the market.

Resistances to work test practice and the figure of the `dole bludger' established in them varied in form and intensity. These included erection of the pathologically unemployed subject as an alternative to the `dole bludger', that eventually, though only partially, became a dominant figure of policy discourse. The guaranteed minimum income debate, begun in the early-mid 1970's welfare establishment, offered an opportunity for institutionalizing a legitimate social space wherein the loafer/unemployed dichotomy would be dissolved. However, the strength of liberal discourse on labour efficiency, and the strength of `Labourist' discourse on equity achievable through the labour market, displaced the Guaranteed Minimum Income debate from credibility. The problem was that `dole bludgers' would multiply, and the alternative identity of pathologically unemployed would find a place for cancerous like growth.

Other resistances included a `work test ban' by public service workers responsible for administering work testing. This event was an outcome of a rationality crisis of the state. To recap, a rationality crisis means that the state pursues policies that are in contradiction to its overall tasks of balancing capital accumulation on one hand and cultural expectations from an electorate on the other. The right wing's propensity to reduce public spending when coupled with continued state responsibility for social security met with a convenient solution in the figure of the `dole bludger'. At the policy level, initiatives to increase work test surveillance and enactment of available penalties intensified during the late seventies. However, efforts at spending reduction, which translated to work test intensification, also translated into low staff ceilings in public service departments including the CES and DSS. These departments had their staffs increased slightly to deal with increases in administrative tasks associated with unemployment benefit, but not enough to handle what they encountered. CES and DSS workers felt they were the `meat in the sandwich.' Pressure from above to produce more work test failures involved doing more surveillance activities. This resulted in an intensification of CES and DSS work loads. When coupled with pressure from rising numbers of applicants, which included eruption of violence at CES and DSS offices, the process of work testing itself was endangered.

The left wing of the union responsible for these workers had been growing in influence since the mid-seventies. With rank and file members' work process suffering from work test initiatives, the unions' left leadership took the opportunity to overtly link built up resentment with political objectives. Work testing was reviled as not in the interests of a working class for whom the state personnel were doing their jobs. The executive of the union generated marginal but sufficient support to impose an official ban on the work test, that lasted unofficially well into the 1980's. Rationality conflicts arising from the fiscal crisis of the state were manifest in the ban. State service personnel were serving an abstract community. However, work testing was transformed into an anti-community interest when the activities it involved pressed hard on the lived experience of DSS and CES front line officers.

Another form of resistance included protest demonstrations over overt work test and other unemployment related issues, by various collectives claiming to represent unemployed workers. Though these were less potent than other forms, when added to the general increase in dissent, their events, sometimes very colourful, produced a picture of a widespread popular front of resistance. The figure of the `dole bludger' declined in significance as a reasonable method of coping with economic and socio-cultural crisis tendencies.

Work testing had remained throughout the `long boom' period as an almost completely administrative event. However, the work testing of `hippies and surfies' as `dole bludgers' in the 1970's brought about a resistance that produced a massive politicization of administrative activity. Politicization of benefit administration arose because the state seemed to renege on its 1944 promise to grant security of income to unemployed workers. Intensification of work test discipline was seen by the critical welfare sector and by increasing numbers of unemployed people to be a way of backing away from responsibility to pay benefits. Habermas (1973: 62) argued that:

> the selective raising of taxes, the discernible pattern of priorities in their use, and the administrative performances themselves must be so constituted that the need for legitimation can be satisfied as it arises. If the state fails, a deficit in legitimation results.

In accordance with Windschuttle (1980), `dole bludgers' became part of a larger strategy of discipline aimed at resolving rationality and legitimation crises. However, Windschuttle did not address effects of resistance strategies. During the late 1970's and early 1980's, the `crisis of crisis management' and resultant legitimacy deficit was addressed by the state through appropriation of salient categories of unemployed subjects produced in oppositional discourse.

The combined effects of resistance strategies produced the pathologically unemployed subject as a more reasonable and palatable alternative to the discredited `dole bludger'. As in the 1930's, continuity of high incidence of joblessness crowded out the credibility of `dole bludgers'. Kelvin (1980: 297) commented:

> work and idleness are morally significant only when the individual can chose between them. When unemployment becomes structural at a global level, the crucial element of choice on which morality depends is lost.

Erosion of the `dole bludger' threatened to place the commodity form back under attack. The pathological subject provided an accessible solution. Rather than dissolving the unemployed/loafer dichotomy, the pathologically unemployed subject replaced the `dole bludger' as interpretation of `loafer'. Public policy makers appropriated the oppositional discourse and absorbed the pathologically unemployed as a warrant for new and more sophisticated disciplinary techniques. Within the `pathology' discourse, motivation crises developed from experience with unemployment, rather than the reverse. The pathological subject was the mirror image of the `dole bludger'. To be sure, long term joblessness was responsible for depression, social isolation, loss of time consciousness and other conditions experienced by unemployed people. However, these pathologies became the warrant for a new disciplinary regime. These pathologies provided a logical method of resolving the legitimacy deficit left by erosion of the `dole bludger'. GMI proposals were ruled out of order as they involved a dissolution of the loafer unemployed/loafer dichotomy.

The pathological subject did not threaten the validity of the commodity form as did radical GMI proposals. A non-work tested GMI threatened to dislodge labourist principles of justice achievable through the labour market. The 1983 Prices and Incomes Accord reflected continued state commitment to labourist (read `liberal' in Beilhartz's (1991) terms) ideals. Acceptance of non-work tested GMI proposals involved recognition and indeed establishment of a social space wherein forms of work would be recognised and rewarded **outside of the labour market**.

`Post-industrial' utopians such as Bell (1973) Gorz (1982) and Jones, B. (1982) have argued that a legitimate social space outside of paid work may be developed. The general argument is that high unemployment will continue as a permanent feature of industrial society's landscape. In order to for unemployed people to remain a legitimate part of society, forms of activity outside of paid work that have some social value must be facilitated. These ideas have been attacked partly because they failed to anticipate the strength of resistance coming from the organised labour movement. Non-work tested GMI's directly threatened the continuity of the commodity form as a central social principle. Bob Hawke's 1986 foray into the area of funding self-sustaining communes through unemployment benefits was quietly down-played by some of his advisers. Apart from the long experience of the failure of back-to-the land enterprises, stimulation of communes would have involved recognition of legitimacy of non-labour market solutions to unemployment. The `pathologically unemployed subject' required addressing with a measure that would maintain the legitimacy of the commodity form. The **`clinical citizenship'** disciplinary regime arose in response.

The disciplinary regime characterised as **`clinical citizenship'** expanded the role of the **`industrial community'** by incorporating resistances to it. **`Clinical citizenship'** involved a state (a community) in addressing a pathology that developed in the unemployed subject as a result of unemployment. It was no longer credible that unemployment would disappear if only the unemployed would bestir themselves to work, although certainly traces of this sentiment lingered in policy as well as popular arenas. Rather, the problem of idleness was to re-invigorate in the souls of potentially good workers, a desire to manifest their given class interest ... to pursue whatever waged work was available.

In the early 1980's the number and scope of `training schemes' increased dramatically from 1970's levels. Emphasis was, as before, to increase employability of workers engaged in labour markets that demanded increasingly higher levels of technical skills from their human capital. Of equal importance was to retain the centrality of paid work in the lives of youth. From 1986 onward, unemployment benefits became increasingly tied to labour market schemes, and regularized forms of personal surveillance. The unemployment benefit scheme was reconfigured in July, 1991 to become a `spring board' rather than a safety net. The state had assumed the role of industrial clinician for clienteles of pathologically unemployed including redundant workers needing retraining and discouraged workers who had already lost personal connection to paid work.

Resistances to work test techniques, developed in the 1970's, became legitimation for work test techniques in the 1980's and 1990's. Resistance to the latter has to date, been predicatably relatively weak. With GMI proposals disarmed, critiques were left with few logical alternative courses. Australian and Victorian Councils of Social Services as well as the Public Service Union have been critical of possibilities for abuse of civil rights and have gained minor concessions from administering authorities. However, the fundamental liberal disciplinary trajectory involved in the work test project survives and will continue to do so until an effective arena is developed for the voices of the million or so unemployed who may be wondering why they should remain attached to their identities as workers.

Explaining Transitions between Regimes

Precise periodization of regimes was made difficult by the fact that they overlap each other considerably. Development of the notion of `right to benefit' began as early as 1891 and greatly intensified during the 1930s. Further, the pathologically unemployed (particularly youth) were found in the 1930s and 1970s as well as the 1980s and 1990s. These elements of overlap were discussed along with more salient issues in respective chapters. Although themes overlapped considerably, designation of new regimes was dependent on the construction of new disciplinary practices. Disciplinary regimes identified are interpreted as ideal types.

Similarly, transitions between regimes have been considered from the outset as uneven and never absolute. Vestiges of previous regimes remained as fragments of newer forms. The consistent liberal thread running through all regimes ensured a degree of continuity. Notwithstanding problems associated with delineating precise moments of regime changes, changes in disciplinary regimes have been logical outcomes of crisis tendencies in capitalism outlined by Habermas (1973) and Offe (1984). Disciplinary regimes were identifiable independently from the theoretical framework provided by Habermas and Offe. However, ideas of welfare state crisis helped to provide direction for explanation of transitions between regimes. Crisis theories also helped to explain emergence of resistance.

This does not suppose a teleologically developed idea of universal system imperatives. Certainly, it is argued that institutionalization of particular work test practices and disciplinary strategies were formed in response to motivational crises that were thought to be in danger of developing from economic system crises. However, the form that disciplinary strategies took and the form that resistances took, were historically dependent on particular configurations of political, cultural, and administrative circumstances that restricted the range of legitimate options available at the time.

Conclusion

Erection of the first disciplinary regime was in direct response to growth in joblessness in the late nineteenth century, and the particular outcomes reflections of an anachronistic attachment to Australia's limitless colonial capacity to keep all productively busy if only they wanted to work. The New South Wales Labour bureau's propensity to send jobless men out into the country, producing an `exorcism' of loafing effect, was a direct response to organised left wing protest.

Development of state unemployment benefits and legitimation of `right to benefit' didn't occur until 1944, but may have happened a lot sooner if the Australian `social wage' was not pursued from an early time, through market rather than state means. As it was, the massive extent of joblessness in the 1930's, forced resolution of funding and responsibility issues stalling earlier efforts at installation of `right' to benefit. The social disruption of the depression legitimated unemployment relief administrative reform as well as a form of social contract imbedded in Keynsian principles of the desirability of full employment. Commonwealth unemployment benefits ensured that benefits would be available to those `unemployed' (as opposed to uncertain State or private `charity') and would be far more efficiently organised under a central administration. Knowledge of the `unemployed' could be standardized and larger networks of surveillance could be employed. The state stepped in to do what private (benevolent) enterprise could not. Work testing ensured that possibilities for motivation crisis (de-commodification) would be ameliorated rather than enhanced.

Work test techniques and principles pursued by the Commonwealth were extensions of techniques and principles developed in other countries (most notably Britain), as well as those used in unemployment relief administration by State labour bureaux. The particular funding arrangement, which it is argued, signified expansion in disciplinary effects, came about not as a result of any eternal logic of development, but rather as a result of a timely configuration of political forces at the federal level combined with federal legitimacy to take over traditional state responsibilities, which up till then, unemployment relief had been.

These two moments of transition to and between disciplinary regimes were relatively simple. They were outcomes of economic contradictions of capitalism, Australian cultural traditions as well as particular political configurations and events surrounding the Second World War. The third moment of transition was less easy to define let alone explain. The particular identifying feature of the third disciplinary regime has been drawn as an increased concentration on `unemployment pathology'. Disciplinary techniques sought to re-invigorate market potential in the loafer, rather than perform an exorcism as was generally the case in earlier periods.

Contradictions of late capitalism including development of counter-cultural forms, and increases in contradictory demands made on the state, resulted in resistances to work test practices being drawn into the administrative apparatus itself and manifest in intensification of latent contradictory demands made on the Commonwealth Employment Service. Strategies to erect the figure of the `dole bludger' dissolved in the face of politicization arising from burgeoning welfare institutions (expanding directly from post-war legitimation of state responsibility for welfare), an active unemployed workers' movement (though splintered and arguably not a groundswell representative movement) and realisation by state `line' personnel of their contradictory roles vis a vis representation of a `working class'. Politicization of state response to perceived motivation crises in the 1970's coincided with shifts in Labor party strategy from emphasis on state to market welfare and a successful Labor election in 1983, fought on the issue of unemployment.

The `coincidence' of the pathological subject and a neo-conservative shift in Labor Party policy should be seen in terms of two dynamics. The first was a tendency for resistance to hegemonic discursive structures found in state disciplinary activity, to have been incorporated by the state into a new and far stronger configuration of relations. This is a `strong' argument made for the purpose of drawing clear lines through empirical phenomena. The simplicity of this argument must be understood to rest on an extremely complex empirical terrain. For example, the process of public policy making is often driven by a constant barrage of administrative crises rather than any sort of coherent strategy to absorb the impact of resistance. It is necessary to make `strong' (as opposed to `weak') arguments so that the general line of the thesis is brought into clear relief, rather than made overly ambiguous by excessive reference to exceptions.

Garland (1985: 207) expressed the tendency to absorb critique as a `**politico-discursive struggle**' within which the state shift's strategy to ensure its legitimacy as a general social form. The state must be seen to be democratic, `listening' and concerned to produce `**fairness**' through the commodity form. Garland linked social crises manifest through resistance strategies, to the British state's uncanny ability to absorb and reconfigure rather than try to resist the shock:

> We have seen a social crisis, discursively interpreted in accordance with certain political positions, programmes that elaborate a series of paths of resolution, a politico-discursive struggle in which these programmes are compromised, resisted and transformed, and then another process of **political filtering**, when these programmes are translated into the realm of **official discourse** in the form of inquiries, reports and recommendations. (Garland, 1985: 207)

This process may be seen as operating in the constitution of disciplinary strategies in formation of the late 1980's Australian pathological subject. The pathologically unemployed subject, appropriated terms of organised resistance to `dole bludgers' in the seventies. Secondly, this was a path taken that aligned well with a new corporatism established between the state and the trade union movement represented in the 1983 prices and incomes accord. `Community' interests were capital/labour interest and became a warrant for legitimation of `unemployed pathology'. Poggi (1990: 118-120) argued that modern states construct viable options for client/citizens to follow on their own behalf. Surveillance activities (such as work test interviews) establish particularly constructed information which is then translated back in terms of a set of available options for people to follow, **as if they were acting in their own interests.** Processes of normalization occur through the policy process when the state steps in:

> armed with two exclusive, overlapping resources: positive law ... and an ensemble of agencies specialising in producing, implementing and enforcing such norms. ... These are, [designed] to lay down frameworks within which a multiplicity of open-ended, contingent choices may be made by individuals acting on their own behalf. (Poggi, 1990: 119)

Clients are empowered with a set of choices when called in for work test interviews. The choices themselves are inscribed directly into a juridico-legal form through written contracts. Choices were constituted as positive action being undertaken by the claimant but the rules surrounding which choices a client may take are confined to a narrow range determined by an interviewing officer and available programs. A client may agree to do a specified training course, to contact a specified number of prospective employers or other alternatives designed between the interviewing officer and the client. The client is constituted as being personally responsible, active, choosing on their own behalf. However the parameters of that series of choices were not up for substantial conscious negotiation. The subject is constituted with an appropriately `active' free will, entirely compatible for liberal demands to unfetter the commodity form.

These processes represented a political negotiation of the identity of the unemployed subject within constraints defined by continued support of a `liberal mode of governance'. That is, concentration on the pathologically unemployed subject appropriated resistance to the disciplinary edifice of work testing, and retained the commodity form as a defining social principle intact. This was a strategy that effectively excluded the possibility of demands for GMI principles from becoming legitimate.

Pusey (1991) analysed the course of state rationality and thus the course of system steering capacity in Australia in **Economic Rationalism in Canberra**. Contrary to Andre Gorz's (1982) and others' prediction of post-industrial utopia, Pusey came down on the side of system maintenance. `Economic rationality' in Canberra shored up to the point where conflicts tended toward resolution vis a vis re-institution of market rationality as cultural rationality.

Value balancing was obviated by discursive construction of those values in economic terms. The market would distribute values in its own rationality. Potential crises of motivation resulting from inability of the economic system to support the de-commodifying potential of unemployment benefits were resolved by intensifications of the centrality of labour market mechanisms. The Hawke Labor government was presented as right wing because, within options provided by demands for crisis resolution, re-institutionalization of market imperatives was a logical extension of the mature capitalist state and a logical extension of `labourist' liberal discourse .

Pusey (1991) argued that the state's new integrative function has been a feature of Australian society from the beginning. This is not surprising, given that Australia's `white' foundation was in Sydney as a convict society under the direct military control of an English state. In other words, the `Great Arch' (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985) was already there at the beginning for Australia. Following Habermas, Pusey (1991: -205) commented:

Conclusion

> In the modern world, the state is the great engine of integration; and integration is the implicit criterion of evaluation for processes of rationalisation - and hence for reform ... The Whitlam reforms [of the early 1970's] were premised on Australia's own traditions of fairly conservative, but liberal, social democracy. It is very definitely a cultural and political history in which political ideas and theories of society past and present incorporate a notion of the state. Moreover, it is a notion that gives a very important place to the coordinative, redistributive, and arbitrative function of higher administration a place that is in some ways constitutive of Australian society. It is a society that was, in more senses than one `born modern' because it expects its state apparatus ( and, so, more pertinently its intellectuals) should integrate and so reconcile and `rationalise' a broad range of economic and social demands.

Disciplinary techniques and resistances to them have continually merged in negotiation of social categories such as `worker', `the state' and the `market'. Within the broad parameters of economic and motivation crises, disciplinary strategies were negotiated and pursued to maintain the presence of the commodity form in the lives of working Australians. Work testing has indeed been `constitutive of the whole of Australian society'. However, this project of society making in a capitalist country has required changes and reformations in disciplinary practices to accommodate stresses, oppositions, and antagonisms thrown up in a myriad of conflicts and compromises developed in `the lucky country' during the world's most productive and destructive century. `Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts' charts one facet of this history: The social construction of the unemployed subject in work test practice.

Comparative perspectives

Construction of disciplinary regimes involved a negotiation of Australian history and theoretical perspectives used to look at it. It is appropriate to ask: did disciplinary regimes represent a general process of changes in `liberal governance' or was Australia a peculiar case? This is an empirical question that cannot be answered completely here. However, there is enough commentary on welfare state development/crises and disciplinary practice to enable some broad comparisons to be made.

Commentators in the English speaking industrialized world (Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, The USA) have noted a general neo-conservative movement on unemployment benefit levels and eligibility criteria as part of an overall strategy to enable the market to drive welfare priorities.[2] Labour market `training' schemes linked to benefit eligibility have been a part of this process. The ill effects of non-`active' benefit structures has played a major role in legitimation of changes. The pathological unemployed subject is certainly not unique to Australia. The clinical citizen seems at least to have been established as a warrant for discipline of workers outside of Australia.

What role if any did the identities of worker vs idler play in impetus to develop the pathological unemployed subject in Britain and Canada?

Academic and action research in Britain, Canada and the USA during the 1970's and early 1980's firmly established `social-psychological' effects of unemployment on the policy agenda. Garland (1985) noted that strategies of resistance were incorporated by the British state. It seems plausible that this may have been the case in Canada, New Zealand and the USA. Australian work test policy within which the `dole bludger', was constituted, was a direct response to threats of motivation crisis arising initially from counter-cultural movements, and then from more purely economic motives to loosen up labour markets. Deacon (1977, 1978), Golding and Midleton (1982) and Clarke (1983) observed `scrounger bashing' in the UK during the late 1970's and early 1980's. Overton (1992) argued that Newfoundland's unemployed were subjected to unjust harassment during the late 1970's. Fox Piven and Cloward (1992) also argued that work shyness has been a feature of US popular and policy concern since the late 1970's. It is not clear from these accounts the role that the unemployed/loafer dichotomy played in delegitimation of non-work tested GMI proposals. Further the role of work testing and the loafer/unemployed dichotomy to address emergent counter cultures is left unaddressed. However these accounts do confirm the centrality of the loafer/unemployed dichotomy in discourse on unemployment. They also imply that work test strategies erected around constructing the loafer/unemployed dichotomy were aimed at a `normalization' of the social. Returning the `worker' to a higher degree of responsiveness to labour market demands was central to each account. Certainly work test policy imbedded in UK, Canadian and US unemployment insurance regulations implicates the state in each of those countries as a `great engine of integration' in Pusey's terms. It seems likely that the loafer/unemployed dichotomy has played a vital part in attempts to resolve English speaking nation's crises of legitimation experienced during the 1970's.

Conclusion

Were pre-state disciplinary forms different than post-state disciplinary forms?

Squires' (1990) account of the social policy and the British `disciplinary state' confirms the dual processes of discipline of the body and discipline of the social through construction of technologies of discipline in work testing. Deacon (1976) and Squires (1990) noted a key difference between discipline of work houses and differences of unemployment insurance lay in the fact that insurance was a far more efficient means. Discipline was enacted **over** a collective **by** a collective. Speaking of Churchill's 1909 introduction of unemployment insurance in Britain, Squires (1990: 130) commented:

> The novelty of the whole scheme was, after all, that if a workman were to malinger, `he malingers against himself'. In the manner of a truly disciplinary society, members of the working class were to be both subjects and objects of a power relation; the executors of their own discipline ... The insurance strategy sought to interrelate individuality and collectivity in such a way that normative regulations could be derived from and defined in relation to, the entire insured population. In this way, the foundations of discipline, were in a sense, entirely collective and yet formed of the consequences of individual transgressions. Equally, it was as individuals that the population would encounter these disciplinary regulations.

As in Australia at the end of the Second World War, the state had inserted itself as a collective consciousness reflecting and enacting notions of `worker'. The commodity form was reinforced in the wake of the late nineteenth century economic crisis. Work house discipline was of a **`bourgeois benevolent'** form, and as in Australia, broke down under recognition of valid unemployment and under the sheer weight and expense of maintaining incarceration as a method of disciplinary partitioning.

Both Canadian and Australian **`industrial community'** disciplinary regimes operated in a similar fashion. Loafers were cheating on their mates. The working class began to regulate itself. However, Australian and Canadian state unemployment insurance/benefit schemes were post-Depression phenomena. Guest (1980) and Struthers (1983) charted the historical emergence of the Canadian `welfare state' during the Second World War. Their historical accounts record parallel themes of **`bourgeois benevolence'** and its breakdown during the Great Depression. As in Australia, federal/provincial relations on the funding issue stalled introduction of unemployment insurance, that was being considered at least as early as 1919 as a legitimate state responsibility. As in Australia, industrial development was well underway by the late nineteenth century at which point the world wide economic crisis stimulated recognition of unemployment which, up that point was hardly recognisable. Guest (1980: 15) remarked of the stoicism that early settlers in both English and French Canada had toward their sometimes bitter poverty in harsh conditions: `it was widely held that the chance to build a better life in the New World was open to all'. After all:

> the agrarian orientation of Canada's economy affected the response to joblessness in several ways. As long as Canada was scouring Europe each year for hundreds of thousands of immigrants to fill the vast tracts of land in the West and North, there seemed little excuse for any Canadian to complain that he could not find work. Periodically, it was true, jobs might become scarce in this or that trade but there was always a need for more manpower on the land. If a man's luck gave out in carpentry, could he not make a go of farming or at least work for his room and board on a homestead during the winter? Struthers (1983: 8)

Canada too was a `lucky country': the large presence of `the land' obviated any notion of legitimate joblessness. Canada's, (particularly Eastern Canada's) white history substantially pre-dated Australia's. As a consequence, work houses and poor rates could be found, though not in abundance, in urban areas. Tory Paternalism was imported from Britain whereas Australia developed at the point where that paternalism was in decline. However, Canadians also had their own ways of dealing with loafers. Montreal licensed beggars in a bid to control vagrancy. The last public Auction of people dependent on poor rates was held in New Brunswick as late 1884. Labour Bureaux are not addressed in detail by either Struthers or Guest, but it seems likely that with the rise of an industrial working class and an emergent organised left, labour bureaux played an important part in extending efficiency of bourgeois benevolence through job registries.

Esping-Andersen (1990) characterised Australia, Canada and New Zealand as `liberal' welfare states. There, a `work ethic' pervaded eligibility rules, and benefit levels. Commodification of labour was taken as a central apriori goal of income support systems. All three countries developed the major components of their systems around the second world war and were thus relatively late in comparison to say Britain, Germany and France which had made substantial inroads to state supported unemployment and other welfare benefits around the late nineteenth /early twentieth centuries. Australia, Canada and New Zealand were `new settler societies' with a

British constitutional heritage. At least Australia and New Zealand have had strong organised labour movements since the end of the nineteenth century. All three countries have been described as staples based with a relatively small domestically owned manufacturing sector. In short these three countries share economic, political and cultural heritages.

Esping-Andersen's Characterisation of Australian welfare as `liberal' was confirmed in **Idlers, Loafers and Layabouts**. From the brief comparative discussion above it could be argued that welfare state forms as circuits of power for an hegemony surrounding the commodity form also hold with other countries included in Esping-Andersen's framework.

Further, there is rich possibility in **detailed** comparative study to be conducted in Canada. A central question that remains unanswered is the degree of difference to the strength and trajectory of loafer discipline in a country with an insurance based system as opposed to a general revenue system. I would argue that disciplinary practice has not been as strong, nor had the prevalence on popular consciousness that work testing has had in Australia. Perhaps crisis development and strategies of solution have worked differently due to this central effect. Perhaps Australian and Canadian political and cultural traditions are not as similar as they might seem at first glance.

Another avenue for comparative research would be to examine differences and similarities in disciplinary practices and effects in countries where the commodity form has not been the organising principle of welfare. Nordic countries have been characterised by Esping Andersen as `institutionalized' welfare states, where economic policy flows from a social rationality rather than the reverse. Have crisis tendencies been avoided in these countries or merely transformed? Do guaranteed minimum incomes really displace the need for disciplinary practices to buttress the commodity form or have other hegemonic mechanisms been necessary to achieve similar results? What form will welfare structures take in Eastern Europe during movement to capitalism and democracy? Will it be necessary to distinguish between loafers and real workers in cultures that have been relatively totalized in bureaucratic rationality?

It is hoped that **Idlers Loafers and Layabouts** has opened more questions for debate that it has answered or even sought to address. Issues of gender and race have been entirely excluded. Through examination of legitimation of disciplinary techniques that have defined the bounds of woman's labour force participation and identities of `worker' vs `non-worker' processes if patriarchal hegemony and its interaction with capitalism may be revealed. By examining rules and regulations surrounding definition of Kouri identities considered as `workers', we may trace means by which Kouri forms and relations of work are delegitimated in the white capitalist world. When these issues are multiplied with comparative issues, it becomes readily apparent that there is scope here for a lifetime of rewarding research.

Bryan Turner (1990) argued against R. W. Connell's (1977) thesis on hegemony put forward in **Ruling Class, Ruling Culture** on the grounds that ideological diversity in Australian history negated any attempt to posit one overarching dominant ideology. Mateship, the bush, paternalism, racism, patriotism were all powerful threads of a patchwork of discourses that could not be described as collectively coherent enough to be dominant, and certainly not necessarily connected to capitalist processes of class reproduction. In addition, **individualism** was not a false consciousness, but rather a real structuring consciousness. Turner also argued that Connell's conception of hegemony did not allow for resistances, and that evidences of these were plentiful. However Connell did not suppose that hegemony proceeds as a gargantuan Big Brother, knowing and controlling all. Connell sketched `apparatuses of control' (p. 221) in education, the media and in industrial relations. He also argued that:

> The system does not have it all its own way. There is opposition and conflict. There are people, and there are forms of action that have escaped the net. (p. 221)

Idlers Loafers and Layabouts has argued that Australian capitalism tended to make its own crises, not just economically, but culturally. The commodity form as a class relation has been in danger of erosion at several points throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Work testing of unemployment benefits has been shown to have upheld the commodity form as an organising principle between classes. By constantly reinforcing the distinctiveness of worker from non-worker, work testing has been part of the class formation process. The labourist support of work test principles has demonstrated the role that work testing plays as an hegemonic form to make collective consciousness a disciplinary process. Fragmentation of ideological formations around gender, race, nationalism and so forth are important issues that inform the particular slice of social formation articulated here. However, they should not be seen as delegitimating the force of the hegemonic project of unemployment. In contradistinction to Turner, **Idlers Loafers and Layabouts** has demonstrated that at least in Australia, and probably in other countries, hegemony continues as a process of class formation that involves resistances, retreats, victories and realignments around interpretation of social identities. When Alan Jordan commented that `work testing is constitutive of the whole Australian society,' he made the point that Australian social relations were reflected in and enhanced by work testing. It is a violence of abstraction that workers are made to police themselves. It is up to the next generation of resistance to find a way to successfully place the meaning of paid work on the popular agenda for debate. The indications are that discursive strategies buttressing the commodity form will proceed in the wake of continued high levels of unemployment. It is only to be hoped that resistances can `be relevantly counter-hegemonic, and in sufficient masses to do real damage, and be able to carry through to the actual construction of a human society' (Connell, 1977: 222). Idlers, loafers and layabouts must be transcended to reach this end.

End Notes

1. It is interesting to note that early post war reference to work testing in central DSS and CES office files contained extensive usage of the term `works testing'. This was a carry over hangover from the Great Depression where work testing was often accomplished by offering a sustenance claimant a job on government sponsored work on roads, forests and other infrastructure. There is an interesting study yet to be done on whether or not this linguistic event revealed an orientation to labour control in use of work testing during the immediate post war period.

2. See Fox Piven and Cloward (1992), Hewitt (1992), Hills (1990), Johnson (1990), Riches (1990), Shirley (1990), Watts (1990) for discussion of the advance of the `New Right' in these countries.

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Appendix A: Procedure Manual Changes 1971-1975

Part (1) October 5th, 1971 "Surfie" and "Hippie" Clause

EARLY 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	OCTOBER 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.	2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.
(a) A claimant must be capable and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or be capable and willing to undertake some other work of a suitable nature that he could be expected to perform.	(a) A claimant must be capable and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or be capable and willing to undertake some other work of a suitable nature that he could be expected to perform.
(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.	(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.
	(c) The need to ensure that a claimant is genuinely looking for work applies especially to:
	(i) members of "Hippie" colonies; **(ii) members of the "Surfie" element;** **(iii) new arrivals in the area whose apparent purpose is other than to seek full-time work (for example holidays, tourism, or even the organisation of and participation in public protest demonstrations).**
	(d) Unemployment benefit is not ordinarily to be granted to young single persons who come within any of the above categories.

(EARLY 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT CONTINUED)	**(OCTOBER 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT CONTINUED)**
	(e) In the case of young married persons without children, benefit is not to be granted unless the Assistant Director or Registrar is personally satisfied, after full enquiries have been made into the claimant's previous work history, that he is genuinely seeking full-time employment. In all such cases payment of benefit is to be postponed until the enquiries are completed.
(c) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -	(f) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -
`You have not taken reasonable steps to obtain work as required by the Social Services Act.'	`You have not taken reasonable steps to obtain work as required by the Social Services Act.'

Part (2): April 1973 changes to the work test

1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
2/F/2 WORK TEST	2/F/2 WORK TEST.
(a) The "work test" is administered by the Commonwealth Employment Service on behalf of the Department of Social Services.	(a) The "work test" is administered by the Commonwealth Employment Service on behalf of the Department of **Social Security**.
(b) The process of registering claimants for employment, seeking suitable work for them, and determining whether they are prepared to accept the offer of such work, constitutes application of the work test.	(b) The process of registering claimants for employment, seeking suitable work for them, and determining whether they are prepared to accept the offer of such work, constitutes application of the work test.
(c) A claimant will generally be regarded as having refused or failed without good and sufficient reason to accept an offer of employment if he is unwilling to accept and perform work offered to him which , having regard to his abilities and qualifications, it is considered would be suitable in its nature, conditions and location, to be undertaken by him.	(c) A claimant will generally be regarded as having refused or failed without good and sufficient reason to accept an offer of employment if he is unwilling **to accept and perform work offered to him in his usual occupation or of an equivalent kind. Work of an equivalent kind is work of a type or nature in which the person usually engages and in which the person's experience, qualifications and training would be used.**
	(d) School leavers and others not previously engaged in employment, and those seeking to rejoin the labour work force after some time will generally be regarded as having refused or failed with good and sufficient reason to accept an offer of employment if unwilling to accept and perform work offered which in keeping with their personal preference, abilities, aptitudes or experience, qualifications and training.

1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
(d) Where after consideration of all the facts, a District Employment Officer is of the opinion that a claimant fails to satisfy the requirements of the work test, he should report the facts on the form S. U. 44 or where appropriate, by minute to the registrar, including in his report whenever possible, the claimant's reasons for failing to accept the employment or referral offered.	(e) Where after consideration of all the facts, a District Employment Officer is of the opinion that a claimant fails to satisfy the requirements of the work test, he should report the facts on the form S. U. 44 or where appropriate, by minute to the **Department of Social Security**, including in his report whenever possible, the claimant's reasons for failing to accept the employment or referral offered.

OCTOBER 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.	**2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.**
(a) A claimant must be capable and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or be capable and willing to undertake some other work of a suitable nature that he could be expected to perform.	(a) A claimant must be capable of undertaking and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows **or of an equivalent kind ... XXX ...**
(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.	(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.
(c) The need to ensure that a claimant is genuinely looking for work applies especially to: (i) members of "Hippie" colonies; (ii) members of the "Surfie" element; (iii) new arrivals in the area whose apparent purpose is other than to seek full-time work (for example holidays, tourism, or even the organisation of and participation in public protest demonstrations).	
(d) Unemployment benefit is not ordinarily to be granted to young single persons who come within any of the above categories.	

(OCTOBER 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT CONTINUED)	APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
(e) In the case of young married persons without children, benefit is not to be granted unless the Assistant Director or Registrar is personally satisfied, after full enquiries have been made into the claimant's previous work history, that he is genuinely seeking full-time employment. In all such cases payment of benefit is to be postponed until the enquiries are completed.	
(f) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -	(c) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -
`You have not taken reasonable steps to obtain work as required by the Social Services Act.'	**`You have failed to accept a reasonable offer of employment' XXX**
	Note 1: A person should not be denied benefit merely because an employer or employers disapprove of his appearance and on those grounds decline to engage him.
	"Employers do not have the right to determine under penalty of denied unemployment benefit - acceptable dress and appearance in a free, tolerant social democracy."[1]
	Note 2: Beneficiaries should not be required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for

EARLY 1971 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
2/F/16. UNEMPLOYABLES	2/F/16. UNEMPLOYABLES
	Persons to whom this instruction relates are not to be confused with those persons referred to in NOTE 1 in instruction 2/F/3.
(a) Persons who are unemployable are not regarded as being able to satisfy the requirements for unemployment benefit. For the purposes of giving effect to this policy unemployables fall into two categories as follows:-	(a) Persons who **XXX XXX** are not regarded as being able to satisfy the requirements for unemployment benefit for the purposes of giving effect to **the following policy XXX** fall into two categories **XXX**:-
(i) "Undesirables" - Those who are unacceptable to employers for reasons within their own capacity to correct; for example dirty and slovenly appearance, laziness, habitual drunkenness, reluctance to enter employment.	(i) **XXX** - Those who are unacceptable to employers **because of XXX XXX XXX XXX** ; for example dirty **XXX** appearance, laziness, habitual drunkenness, reluctance to enter employment.
(ii) "Physical and Mental Incapacity" - Those who are unacceptable to employers for reasons outside their own control; i. e., physical or mental incapacity (or both) but who are genuinely seeking employment and are less than 85 per cent permanently incapacitated for work.	(ii) - **XXX XXX** - Those who are unacceptable to employers **because of XXX XXX** physical or mental incapacity (or both) but who are genuinely seeking employment and are **not XXX XXX** permanently incapacitated for work **to the extent that would qualify them for invalid pension.**
(b) Where the District Officer concludes that he ought not prefer an "undesirable" applicant or beneficiary to an employer he will forward a report to the Registrar on Form E. S. 98, covering the following aspects:- personal appearance, personal habits and behaviour, and attitudes to work.	(b) Where the District Officer concludes that he ought not prefer an **XXX** applicant or beneficiary **in the first category** to an employer he will forward a report to the **Department of Social Security** on Form E. S. 98. **XXX ... XXX**

EARLY 1971	APRIL 1973
(c) On receipt of Form E. S. 98, the Registrar should establish the previous work history and arrange to have a claimant or beneficiary interviewed. The interviewing officer should include in his report his own observations and any relevant points additional to or in modification of the matters reported on in Form E. S. 98. Where it is proposed to class a person as unemployable because of undesirable characteristics the papers with a statement of facts should be submitted to the Director-General. (see also Instruction **3/A/7**).	(c) On receipt of Form E. S. 98, the Registrar should establish the previous work history and arrange to have a claimant or beneficiary interviewed. The interviewing officer should include in his report his own observations and any relevant points additional to or in modification of the matters reported on in Form E. S. 98. **XXX XXX XXX**
(d) The district Officer is to be informed as soon as possible of the action to be taken as a result of a Form E.S.98 report.	(d) The district Officer is to be informed as soon as possible of the action to be taken as a result of a Form E.S.98 report.
(e) Where an applicant or a beneficiary falls within the category, "physical or mental incapacity"' and his employment history indicates he has consistently failed to secure or hold employment, the District Officer will forward a report to the Registrar on Form E.S.97. This report will set out the person's handicaps and the effect these have on employment prospects; the jobs he has had and the periods he has remained in such jobs; the type of employment (if any) for which the applicant might be suitable; the efforts made to place him, and the likelihood of vacancies occurring having regard to the availability of more suitable applicants.	(e) Where an applicant or a beneficiary falls within the **second** category **XXX XXX XXX** and his employment history indicates he has consistently failed to secure or hold employment, the District Officer will forward a report to the **Department** on Form E.S.97. This report will set out the person's handicaps and the effect these have on employment prospects; the jobs he has had and the periods he has remained in such jobs; the type of employment (if any) for which the applicant might be suitable; the efforts made to place him, and the likelihood of vacancies occurring having regard to the availability of more suitable applicants.

EARLY '71	APRIL '73
(f) on receipt of a form E. S. 97, the Registrar should, where he considers it necessary, arrange for a medical examination by a Commonwealth Medical Referee (see Instruction 3/A/7).	(f) on receipt of a form E. S. 97, the Registrar should, where he considers it necessary, arrange for a medical examination by a Commonwealth Medical Referee (see Instruction 3/A/7).
(g) Where a beneficiary is the subject of an E.S.97 report consideration should be given to referral to the Rehabilitation Branch in accordance with Instruction 2/L/5.	(g) Where a beneficiary is the subject of an E.S.97 report consideration should be given to referral to the Rehabilitation Branch in accordance with Instruction 2/L/5.
(h) A claim for benefit should not be rejected and a current benefit should not be terminated on the grounds that the claimant or beneficiary is unemployable by reason of physical or mental incapacity unless it is proposed to grant an invalid pension. The papers should be submitted to the Director-General with a recommendation in other cases.	(h) A claim for benefit should not be rejected and a current benefit should not be terminated on the grounds that the claimant or beneficiary is unemployable by reason of physical or mental incapacity unless it is proposed to grant an invalid pension. The papers should be submitted to the Director-General with a recommendation in other cases.
(i) The District Officer should be informed of the final outcome of any E.S.97 report.	(i) The District Officer should be informed of the final outcome of any E.S.97 report.

EARLY 1971 PROVISIONS	**APRIL 1973**
2/F/23 POSTPONEMENT OF BENEFIT.	**2/F/23 POSTPONEMENT OF BENEFIT.**
	Section 120 of the Social Services Act provides that in some circumstances the payment of unemployment benefit may be postponed. This discretionary power is not to be used. Either a claimant is or is not eligible for benefit and he is to be advised and treated accordingly. Please see 2/F/26 (c) and (d).
(a) The registrar will decide whether the date of commencement of benefit should be postponed where evidence suggests that a person has become or remained unemployed through:- (i) voluntarily ceasing work without good and sufficient reason; (ii) misconduct as a worker; (iii) refusal or failure without good and sufficient reason, to accept an offer of suitable employment. (b) in such cases a brief should submission should be prepared, having regard to instructions 2/F/24 to 2/F/27, by the Assessor and submitted to the registrar.	

EARLY 1971	**APRIL 1973**
3/A/7 LONG TERM UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFICIARIES.	**3/A/7 LONG TERM UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFICIARIES.**
(a) Where an unemployment benefit has been in force for eighteen months, the case should be carefully reviewed.	(a) Where an unemployment benefit has been in force for eighteen months, the case should be carefully reviewed.
(b) Generally speaking, long term beneficiaries may be divided into three broad categories:-	(b) Generally speaking, long term beneficiaries may be divided into three broad categories:-
(i) those physically fit and willing to work but who are unable to obtain work because none is available in the district;	(i) those physically fit and willing to work but who are unable to obtain work because none is available in the district;
(ii) those not completely physically fit who are willing to work but who are unable to obtain a job because others are preferred;	(ii) those not completely physically fit who are willing to work but who are unable to obtain a job because others are preferred;
(iii) those physically fit who have unpleasant or undesirable characteristics and who are, perhaps, not so willing to work.	(iii) those physically fit who **XXX XXX XXX XXX** who are, perhaps, not so willing to work.
(c) As it is not desirable to continue benefit in these cases indefinitly, it will be necessary to make full enquiries whether there is any prospect of placement [after?] a reasonable time and how the circumstances of each particular case may be met. Instruction 2/F/16	(c) **XXX … XXX** It will be necessary to make full enquiries whether there is any prospect of placement within a reasonable time and how the circumstances of each particular case may be met. Instruction 2/F/16**[14 in 1958]**).
(d) Cases in category (iii) of paragraph (b) should be submitted to the Director-General.	(d) Cases in category (iii) of paragraph (b) should be submitted to the Director **XXX**
(e) In conducting the review the following points should be covered:-	(e) **XXX XXX** The review **XXX XXX XXX** should **XXX cover:-**

Appendix A

EARLY 1971	APRIL 1973
(i) a home visit to be arranged, where possible, or the beneficiary to be specially interviewed at the District Employment Office by an officer of this Department in company with a district employment officer;	(i) a home visit **XXX**, where possible, or **the matter be discussed** with the beneficiary to be specially interviewed at the District Employment Office by an officer of this Department **and XXX** a District Employment Officer;
(ii) details of previous work history, the beneficiary's background, domestic position, recent efforts to obtain work and reasons for not being successful;	(ii) details of previous work history, the beneficiary's **XXX XXX XXX** recent efforts to obtain work and reasons for not being successful;
(iii) whether the beneficiary has any physical or mental disabilities;	(iii) whether the beneficiary has any physical or mental **disability**;
(iv) the types of work for which he is suitable having regard to age, disabilities, etc., and the prospects of obtaining such work;	(iv) the types of work for which he is registered **XXX XXX XXX** and the prospects of obtaining such work;
(v) the possibility of providing treatment and training under the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service;	(v) the possibility of providing treatment and training under the **XXX** Rehabilitation Service;
(vi) whether males approaching the age of ˆ0 years and females approaching the age of fifty five years are eligible for service pension when they attain that statutory age (see instruction 3/A/9);	(vi) whether males approaching the age of 6 years and females approaching the age of fifty five years are eligible for service pension when they attain that statutory age (see instruction 3/A/9);
(vii) whether the beneficiary is living solely on unemployment benefit (particularly married beneficiaries). care should be taken here to ensure he is not engaged in undisclosed casual employment or that the wife is not employed;	(vii) whether the beneficiary is living solely on unemployment benefit **XXX XXX XXX** . care should be taken **XXX** to ensure he is not **XXX** in (undisclosed) casual employment or that **his** wife is not employed.

EARLY 1971	APRIL 1973
(viii) in the case of single beneficiaries under 21 living in districts where work is difficult to obtain - whether their parents are prepared to allow them to reside with the relations to see if they can be placed in suitable employment.	
(f) Where there is evidence of physical or mental disability, and it is considered necessary, a medical examination by a Commonwealth Medical Referee should be arranged to determine the beneficiary's degree of incapacity. The medical referee should be asked to indicate what in his opinion, is the percentage of the examinee's incapacity for work. Where the beneficiary is certified as not permanently incapacitated, this should facilitate a decision as to whether -	(f) Where there is evidence of physical or mental disability, and it is considered necessary, **XXX XXX** examination by a Commonwealth Medical Referee should be arranged to determine the beneficiary's degree of incapacity. The medical referee should be asked to indicate what in his opinion, is the percentage of the examinee's incapacity for work. Where the beneficiary is certified as not permanently incapacitated, this should facilitate a decision as to whether -
(i) the case should be reviewed at a later date or,	(i) the case should be reviewed at a later date or,
(ii) after consultation with the Senior Medical Officer if considered necessary, the case is suitable for referral to the Director - General with a recommendation for grant of invalid pension.	(ii) after consultation with the Senior Medical Officer if considered necessary, the case is suitable for **XXX XXX XXX** grant of invalid pension.
(g) It will not be necessary to submit cases where to the Director-General where the beneficiary has been accepted for rehabilitation or where he will qualify for pension in a short time.	(g) It will not be necessary to submit cases where to the Director **XXX** where the beneficiary has been accepted for rehabilitation or where he will qualify for pension in a short time.

EARLY 1971	APRIL 1973
(h) Where a beneficiary is considered by the District Employment Officer to be an unemployable a report (E.S. 97 or E.S. 98) will be forwarded to the registrar. In conducting the review in connection with long term beneficiaries regard should be had to the information contained in the report and the interviewing officer's own observations should be included in the report prepared by him (see also instruction 2/F/16).	(h) Where a beneficiary is considered by the District Employment Officer to be **XXX** unemployable a report (E.S. 97 or E.S. 98) will be forwarded to the registrar. In conducting the review in connection with long term beneficiaries regard should be had to the information contained in the report and the interviewing officer's own observations should be included in the report prepared by him (see also instruction 2/F/16).

EARLY 1971	APRIL 1973
3/A/11. EFFORTS TO OBTAIN WORK.	**3/A/11. EFFORTS TO OBTAIN WORK.**
(a) It is not the responsibility of the Commonwealth alone (through the Commonwealth Employment Service or otherwise) to obtain employment for a beneficiary. The Commonwealth Employment Service will, of course, render all possible assistance, but the beneficiary is expected to make every effort on his own behalf to obtain employment.	(a) It is not the responsibility of the Commonwealth alone (through the Commonwealth Employment Service or otherwise) to obtain employment for a beneficiary. The Commonwealth Employment Service will, of course, render all possible assistance, but the beneficiary is expected to make every effort on his own behalf to obtain employment.
	(b) Beneficiaries should not be required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment. [written in and then crossed out as though a comment was found on supporting papers:- **"Hard core claimants against whose imposing such a practice was directed easily lie their way around the requirement while genuine work seekers need no such goad). See also Note 2 in 2/F/3]**
(b) A Registrar may, therefore, require a beneficiary to keep a record of positions he has sought and to produce the list for inspection from time to time. As it is necessary to exercise discretion in the matter of approach in such instances the memorandum to the beneficiary should be on the following lines:-	

EARLY 1971

"The question of your eligibility for continuance of unemployment benefit has recently been reviewed. The Social Services act provides that to qualify for unemployment benefit a person must be capable of undertaking and willing to undertake suitable work. The Act also provides that reasonable steps must be taken to obtain such work. It is noted that you have been in receipt of unemployment benefit since and according to the information supplied by you, (or, with your papers) it does not appear that you have taken adequate steps on your own account to obtain employment. Opportunity is taken, therefore, to remind you of your obligations in this regard. So that the Department may be aware of your efforts to find employment, you are requested to state on the back of future weekly income statements the names and addresses of prospective employers approached in your search for work, together with the reason given for non-placement."

Your case will be reviewed at an early date."

(c) where a beneficiary fails to comply with a registrar's direction in this regard consideration should be given to the postponement or termination of benefit on the ground that the beneficiary is not taking reasonable steps to obtain work.

(d) Attention is directed to instruction 3/A/11(d) relating to the appropriate advice to the District Employment Officer.

Part (3): May 1974 Reversals of April 1973 Liberalizations

APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	MAY 1974 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.	2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.
(a) A claimant must be capable of undertaking and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or of an equivalent kind.	(a) A claimant must be capable of undertaking and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or of an equivalent kind.
(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.	(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.
	(c) Applicants will be considered not to have satisfied the work test if by their own actions they indicate they are not genuinely seeking employment, for example -
	(i) they deliberately choose to make themselves unavailable for work by moving to a location where no such work is available;
	(ii) they deliberately make themselves unacceptable to employers;
	(iii) they seek only occupations for which they are not qualified or which are extremely rare and in which vacancies would rarely, if ever, be available in their area of residence. (there have been reports of people seeking to register for example as a wine taster in Cairns, a poker machine mechanic in Victoria, a

APRIL 1973 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	MAY 1974 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
	hospital orderly where there is no hospital or a customs agent where there is no port or airport.)
	(iv) they adopt a style of presentation (e.g. dress) which is clearly inappropriate for the employment sought. If such applicants persist in this attitude they are to be referred only to employment to which their presentation is appropriate. However, in order that they may not be subject to undue prejudice by certain employers they are to be given a second opportunity and if they refuse the second referral they will not be accepted as having satisfied the work test.
(c) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -	(d) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -
`You have failed to accept a reasonable offer of employment'	`You have failed to accept a reasonable offer of employment'
Note 1: A person should not be denied benefit merely because an employer or employers disapprove of his appearance and on those grounds decline to engage him.	Note 1: Beneficiaries **are XXX** not **XXX** required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment. See Instruction 3/A/11.
"Employers do not have the right to determine under penalty of denied unemployment benefit - acceptable dress and appearance in a free, tolerant social democracy."	
Note 2: Beneficiaries should not be required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment. See Instruction 3/A/11.	

Part (4): Late 1975 Early 1976 Guilfoyle Changes

MAY 1974 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	DECEMBER 1975 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.	2/F/3. CLAIMANTS MUST BE CAPABLE AND WILLING TO WORK.
(a) A claimant must be capable of undertaking and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or of an equivalent kind.	(a) A claimant must be capable of undertaking and willing to undertake work of a class which he normally follows or of an equivalent kind.
(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.	(b) Where a person is prepared to accept only part-time work, although capable of performing the duties of a full- time position, unemployment benefit should not be paid as the claimant cannot be regarded as satisfactorily fulfilling the requirements of the work test.
	(ba) Apprentices whose apprenticeships have been suspended or terminated may qualify for benefit notwithstanding their commitment to attend technical one day a week. They must be prepared to undertake suitable work if that is available. The usual definition of suitable work should apply but the period of apprenticeship completed should be taken into account when considering the range of employment to which the apprentice may reasonably be referred. The longer the period of apprenticeship completed the less reasonable would be referral outside of the chosen or similar trade.
	(bb) A part-time student who attends a technical training institution on one day a week and is otherwise ordinarily employed in a calling consistent with his course of studies, e.g. building and

MAY 1974	DECEMBER 1975
	quantity surveying, and is unemployed, may be granted unemployment benefit under conditions similar to those applying to apprentices.
	Paragraphs (ba) and bb) are to apply as an interim measure in the light of the current unemployment situation and are to be reviewed early in 1976 for Ministerial consideration. They should be read in conjunction with instructions 2/F/2, 2/F/8 and 2/F/26. Application of the above criteria outlined in paragraphs (ba) and (bb) above requires close liaison with the Commonwealth Employment Service.
(c) Applicants will be considered not to have satisfied the work test if by their own actions they indicate they are not genuinely seeking employment, for example -	(c) Applicants will be considered not to have satisfied the work test if by their own actions they indicate they are not genuinely seeking employment, for example -
(i) they deliberately choose to make themselves unavailable for work by moving to a location where no such work is available;	(i) they deliberately choose to make themselves unavailable for work by moving to a location where no such work is available;
(ii) they deliberately make themselves unacceptable to employers;	(ii) they deliberately make themselves unacceptable to employers;
(iii) they seek only occupations for which they are not qualified or which are extremely rare and in which vacancies would rarely, if ever, be available in their area of residence. (there have been reports of people seeking to register for example as a wine taster	(iii) they seek only occupations for which they are not qualified or which are extremely rare and in which vacancies would rarely, if ever, be available in their area of residence. (there have been reports of people seeking to register for example as a wine taster

MAY 1974 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT	DECEMBER 1975 PROCEDURE MANUAL TEXT
in Cairns, a poker machine mechanic in Victoria, a hospital orderly where there is no hospital or a customs agent where there is no port or airport.)	in Cairns, a poker machine mechanic in Victoria, a hospital orderly where there is no hospital or a customs agent where there is no port or airport.)
(iv) they adopt a style of presentation (e.g. dress) which is clearly inappropriate for the employment sought. If such applicants persist in this attitude they are to be referred only to employment to which their presentation is appropriate. However, in order that they may not be subject to undue prejudice by certain employers they are to be given a second opportunity and if they refuse the second referral they will not be accepted as having satisfied the work test.	(iv) they adopt a style of presentation (e.g. dress) which is clearly inappropriate for the employment sought. If such applicants persist in this attitude they are to be referred only to employment to which their presentation is appropriate. However, in order that they may not be subject to undue prejudice by certain employers they are to be given a second opportunity and if they refuse the second referral they will not be accepted as having satisfied the work test.
(d) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -	(d) When advising persons of their ineligibility for unemployment benefit because they have failed to satisfy the work test, expressions such as `You are not genuinely seeking employment' should be avoided. The reason for refusal should be shown as follows, or in similar terms -
`You have failed to accept a reasonable offer of employment'	`You have failed to accept a reasonable offer of employment'
Note 1: Beneficiaries are not required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment. See Instruction 3/A/11.	Note : Beneficiaries are not required to supply regular lists of employers contacted in a search for employment. See Instruction 3/A/11.

APRIL 1973

2/F/23 POSTPONEMENT OF BENEFIT.

Section 120 of the Social Services Act provides that in some circumstances the payment of unemployment benefit may be postponed. This discretionary power is not to be used. Either a claimant is or is not eligible for benefit and he is to be advised and treated accordingly. Please see 2/F/26 (c) and (d).

JANUARY 1976

2/F/23 POSTPONEMENT OF BENEFIT.

(a) Section 120 of the Social Services Act provides that in some circumstances the payment of unemployment benefit may be postponed.

(b) The Registrar of Social Services will decide whether the date of commencement of benefit should be postponed where evidence suggests that a person has become or remained unemployed through:-

(i) voluntarily ceasing work without good and sufficient reason;

(ii) misconduct as a worker;

(iii) refusal or failure without good and sufficient reason, to accept an offer of suitable employment.

End Notes

1. This was handwritten in and then crossed out.

Appendix B: List of Newsarticles Containing Discussion of `Dole Bludgers' Between July 1973 and April 1974

The Advertiser, (9/20/1973), staff reporter, `Only Few Get Round System'.

The Advertiser, (12/11/1973), staff reporter, `Jobless Students Warned'.

The Age, (3/12/1974), staff reporter, `Cameron Declares War on Those Who Won't Work: `Get Rid of the Slacker on the Dole'.

The Age, (3/13/1974), staff reporter, `Slackers and the Dole'.

The Age, (3/20/1974), staff reporter, `Make Dole Harder to Get: Hamer'.

The Age, (4/6/1974), staff reporter, `We Regard the Dole as a Form of Informal Grant Which Allows Us to Experiment'.

The Australian, (9/27/1973), staff reporter, `Q'land Premier `Grossly Abused' Scheme'.

The Canberra Times, (3/12/1974), staff reporter, `Cameron Says Get Rid of Slackers'.

The Canberra Times, (3/13/1974), staff reporter, `Bludgers and Benefits'.

The Canberra Times, (3/13/1974), staff reporter, `3% on the Dole are Job-Dodgers:Report'.

The Courier-Mail, (7/17/1973), staff reporter, `Hippies Live on the Dole'.

The Courier-Mail Brisbane, (12/16/1973), staff reporter, `Being Unemployed Can be Hard Work'.

The Daily Mirror, (1/9/1974), staff reporter, `Cheats Exposed: Miliions Paid out in Huge Dole Fraud'.

Daily Telegraph, (1/8/1974), staff reporter, `Cameron Threat to Unemployed: No Dole Unless Switch in Jobs'.

Daily Telegraph, (1/10/1974), staff reporter, `No Benefits `Lurks' for Jobless - Department Claim'.

Daily Telegraph, (3/14/1974), staff reporter, `Snedden Joins ALP Attack on Bludgers'.

Daily Telegraph, (3/16/1974), staff reporter, `Taming the Dole'.

Daily Telegraph, (4/9/1974), staff reporter, `$4 Mil Dole Swindle Says Senator'.

Financial Review, (7/19/1973), Cedric Allen , `Campus Course: How to Beat Relief Laws: Dole Jet-Setters Cluster to the Gold Coast'.

Appendix B

Financial Review, (3/13/1974), staff reporter, ‘Employers Back Cameron in Attack on ‘Slackers'.

Financial Review, (3/13/1974), staff reporter, ‘Retraining'.

The Herald, (2/20/1974), staff reporter, ‘We Don't Pay Drop-Outs Says Cass'.

The Herald, (2/21/1974), staf reporter, ‘Drop the Drop-Out Handouts'.

The Herald, (3/12/1974), Bruce Basket, ‘Hit Those ‘Bludgers' - Hamer'.

The Herald, (3/19/1974), staff reporter, ‘Toughen up on Bludgers - Urges Hamer'.

The Murcury, (2/19/1974), staff reporter, ‘Disaster: Plan to Stop "Easy Living": End of Dole'.

The Murcury, (2/22/1974), staff reporter, ‘No Payments Without Work: Cameron Gives Reply'.

The National Times, (3/25/1974), Geoffrey Gleghorn, ‘They Cant Find the Lion Tamer, But Hard-Core Unemployed Grow'.

The Sun, (3/17/1974), staff reporter, ‘Idle on the Dole'.

The Sun, (3/17/1974), Chris Anderson, ‘Crackdown on job dodgers'.

Sun-Pictorial, (2/2/1974), Roger Sanders, ‘Where Are the Jobless?'.

Sun-Pictorial, (2/20/1974), staff reporter, ‘Jobless Loafing in Sun'.

Sun-Pictorial, (3/12/1974), staff reporter, ‘Slackers Told: Work or Lose Cash'.

The Sydney Morning Herald, (2/20/1974), staff reporter, ‘Handouts to Lazy Criticised'.

The Sydney Morning Herald, (3/12/1974), staff reporter, ‘Tighter Rules for Jobless Aid Forseen'.

The Sydney Morning Herald, (3/13/1974), staff reporter, ‘‘Throw Jobless Lion Tamers to the Wolves'.

The Sydney Morning Herald, (3/18/1974), staff reporter, ‘Unemployed by Choice'.

Appendix C: Excerpts of Work Test Failures' Official Construction, May 1973

G. L.

CES comments: Claims he is an Opera singer or teacher - he is not qualified as a teacher in New South Wales. Very Vague re employment history. He has had no accountable employment since leaving school. He claims to have assisted his father in a cake shop - dates not known. Not work motivated. Wants employment as a Language teacher - not qualified. Declined the following jobs -

- Dept. of Army at Watsons Bay as Kitchenhand
- W.D. & H. O. Wills Day-shift packer position at Kensington.
- Seasonal country work at Young and Wea Waa (accommodation available).
- Aust. Iron and Steel at Pt. Kembla - wages $75 p.w. plus and accommodation provided.
- N.S.W. Govt. Railways - various vacancies available.

DSS comments: Beneficiary states that he is looking for work but the interviewing officer comments that he appears to be quite content to remain on unemployment benefit indefinitely. Mr Lendvai attended the State office regarding non-receipt of [a] benefit cheque. He Demanded immediate payment in an aggressive manner and caused a disturbance in the office. The police were called and he was charged with trespass.

D. J. B.

Work History: Short term employment as a deck hand, factory hand, roof plumber, landscape gardener, labourer. Untidy. Poor referral prospect. Beneficiary himself says he's "too lazy" to get his licence and it costs too much. When asked what he'd do if his benefit stopped he said he'd get a job.

CES comments: Lodged income statement but failed to wait for an interview as he was in a hurry to help a friend fix his truck. Applicant is generally disinterested in taking employment. Was asked who he had approached seeking employment in last 3 weeks on his own behalf; his answer was that he had - `not applied or approached anyone for work, had been home helping mum.' This applicant does not satisfy the work test.

DSS comments: He said he assists his mother with household chores. He will not do "just any" job because he'll leave it or get fired a couple of days. He gets bored with most jobs as "you just sit around doing nothing all day". He will only work: Building swimming pools, working on a boat (cray fishing, prawning), roofing jobs (not tiling)

O. S.

Work history: Usual occupation **Photographer**. Was employed as a Junior Assistant by M....'s Photo Service, was terminated as he was unsatisfactory.

CES comments: "Stated he was looking for North West work with big dollars. S .... declined two casual labouring positions and a local labouring job with Welshpool Concretes, paying $80.00 per week. S .... stated he would prefer to wait on benefits until a suitable position arose in the NCES comments: North West. Applicant does not appear genuine in his attempts to secure employment."

G. G. S.

Employment History: Prior to moving to the Tweed Heads/Coolangatta area the claimant has been employed as a Chemist's assistant in Sydney for two years. Has recently been employed as a housemaid at a guest house for one month and, as a waitress at coolangatta hotel for 1 month.

CES comments: She declined referral to the [Brisbane Metropolitan Area] stating that she had no transport available to travel to Brisbane.

DSS comments: The claimant was interviewed by an inquiry officer; she was made aware that a travel warrant could be provided for her travel to Brisbane. She is available for work in the Tweed Heads/Coolangatta area. She occupies same flat as another claimant W. T. Y.

E. M. S.

Employment History: In a letter to Mr O ..... (State Member for Gosford) the claimant stated that she moved to her present address as she expected to find odd jobs in the area until she became self-supporting from her handicrafts.

CES comments: "Above-named is living at Spencer. She moved there to live with pensioner friends of her aunty. She denies being part of a farming hippy colony. There is no transport in or out of Spencer for Miss S.... an no employment prospect for her at Spencer."

DSS comments: Claimant said she was attracted to the area by low rental to be paid for various places of residence. Also she wishes to commence self-employment making various types of handicrafts for sale in Sydney.

A. J. M.

Benefit History: Ceased Studies at Gordon Institute of Technology Geelong.

Employment History: Usual occupation, student. Had obviously come from Victoria to a surfing area. Said he had registered for work and asked local farmers and timber getters. Has emotional attachment for local girl. Is willing to take any kind of work in the district, even clerical.

CES comments: Claimant says he has a diploma of accountancy and continues - "I think that I can safely state that I will never use this qualification as in the course of my scholastical studies to obtain it, I gained sufficient acquaintance with the shortcomings of crowded city life as to cause me to reject it and seek something more palatable with my desires of life".

DSS comments: It would not be reasonable for him to refuse suitable work even in a "crowded city" if there were no suitable work in the more "palatable" country. It would be reasonable, however, to try and find him work in the country (in the Margaret River Area First) and if this is impossible, elsewhere, even interstate.

W. B. S.

Employment History: States asks farmers for work and periodically visits the Margaret River and Busselton Councils. Approached saw-mill, butter factory, stores, service stations caravan parks, hotel. Is willing to travel beyond his residential area.

CES comments: Employed 1 year as surf board shaper, 5 months as shark fisherman. Various periods in between as factory hand and at super works. Has leaving certificate; failed 2nd year Technical College, Accountancy. Called Bunbury CES once has not reported since.

DSS comments: Mr S.... is single, aged 24 and may be offered suitable work, even interstate (he is a Victorian and in the last couple of years has travelled between Victoria and Western Australia) if no work available in Western Australia. (ADOSS, 5/11/1973)